STUDIES

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SUMMER 1953

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Newman gave the first *Discourse* in the Rotunda, Dublin on the 10th May 1852.

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Newman's Doctrine of University Education

by DR. MICHAEL TIERNEY,
President, University College, Dublin

THE centenary we are commemorating this week is one to which our claim as a College has only received imperfect recognition. To most of those all over the world who to-day study Newman's *Discourses* and find in them the most profound and inspiring philosophy of university education, the fact that they were intended for a Dublin audience and were delivered in part in the Rotunda as a preliminary to the foundation of what is now University College, Dublin, is a fact of little enough significance. It is common for writers on Newman—not all of them Englishmen—to follow the lead of his biographer Wilfrid Ward and write off the whole Dublin episode in his career as a failure. Part of the purpose of this week's centenary celebration is to dispel that illusion and to make what we hold is a thoroughly justifiable claim on the part of our College to a founder whose reputation seems to grow with every year that passes. We can at the same time do him an honour which is his due, by showing that his University did not wither away, as if he had merely had theoretical vision without the power of real creation, but was well founded and has endured.

Visitors to Ireland are perhaps too frequently liable to suppose that because it is a small country its affairs are simple and easily intelligible. It might be held on the contrary that in an old society such as ours complexity is in inverse proportion to size. This law could well be illustrated from the history and present state of Irish university education. A harmless example of such complexity may be seen in our habit of never referring to the institution which preceded the National University otherwise than as " the Old Royal." A less harmless example, because of its various implications, is the widespread tendency to call University College, Dublin " the National "—a tendency on which perhaps the most appropriate comment is the Hesiodic line on the simplicity of people who are unaware how much greater the half is than the whole. So many of our institutions have come down to us by such devious ways and reached us in such an equivocal guise that our attitude towards them seems to call for expression in circuitous terms.

The institution legally known as University College, Dublin and popularly referred to in Dublin itself as " the National " and outside

Dublin as " the Dublin College " is in reality not a college at all. It is a university forced by many different pressures applied for the better part of a century to masquerade as a college, and the confusion of terms thus brought about has at times more serious consequences than one might expect. If the question be asked, " What university ? " the obvious answer is: " The university founded by Newman as the Catholic University of Ireland." Even during his brief period as its Rector he more than once expressed his fear that circumstances would sooner or later bring about such a change of title. It was the creation of the Royal University of Ireland in 1879, with its possibilities in the way of indirect endowment and recognized degrees, that finally made the change seem expedient to the harassed Irish bishops ; and when after forty more years a new Charter, a fresh endowment and extended rights were won from an even then reluctant English government, the title of " College " to which Father William Delany and Father Thomas Finlay—not to speak of Father Gerard Manley Hopkins and James Joyce—had given lustre was retained for better or worse. We like to think that in spite of this and manifold other transformations we have kept intact Newman's view of his institution's essential nature, purpose and function.

There are of course other reasons for the celebration this year of the centenary of the *Discourses*, and these other reasons are by no means peculiar to this College. Newman is now recognized, not only here and in other English-speaking countries, and not only by Catholics, as perhaps the wisest, most far-seeing, most balanced and still most inspiring of modern thinkers on university education. During the past thirty years there has taken place an almost universal debate on the subject to which the *Discourses* were devoted. One outcome of this debate has been a serious effort to overcome the incoherences and uncertainties into which the medieval institution of the university has fallen owing to the impact of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the modern scientific movement and to restore the sane and healthy ancient idea of higher education to its proper place in civilized life. Probably the best name for this movement is Christian Humanism. Its purpose has been, while retaining and strengthening what was really valuable in the work of the Renaissance and its succeeding developments, to restore the Christian basis upon which medieval education so solidly rested, and while avoiding the growing danger of specialization in every field of knowledge, to return to the medieval principle of order, hierarchy and discipline. Newman deserves to rank as the greatest among the pioneers of modern Christian Humanism and it is in this light that I propose this evening to examine his work in Dublin.

Such an examination ought to devote equal attention to the theoretical and practical sides of his educational activity. I hope it will not seem too academic or pedantic if I dwell for a moment on the sources for our

knowledge of his views, which are perhaps too often considered in the light of the *Discourses* alone. In 1852 he composed ten lectures, five of which were delivered in the Rotunda in the May of that year. All ten were published for the first time in November 1852 under the title *Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education.* They are now usually read as finally published in 1873 under the title *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated.* In that publication one of the ten Discourses was omitted and the nine remaining were combined with ten other lectures and articles delivered or written while Newman was Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland. The last of these was in fact an address to the students of the School of Medicine in the very month of his departure from Ireland—November 1858. Particularly important among this second group is the first lecture entitled *Christianity and Letters* and delivered in November 1854. It should be emphasized that the *Discourses* themselves were composed and delivered under the greatest difficulties. Their preparation coincided with one of Newman's most grievous experiences, the Achilli libel action, and it was the necessity under which he lay to present himself for trial in London on the 21st June, 1852, that led to the break in their delivery after the first five. As a preliminary to the *Discourses* and the other lectures which go with them to make up *The Idea of a University,* it is of great value to read his sermon on Wisdom which dates from 1841, four years before his conversion, as well as the series of letters to *The Times* in the same year in which he criticized Sir Robert Peel's Tamworth Reading Room Address, and took his stand as an opponent of "liberalism in education."

A second group of writings which must be studied as theoretical sources for Newman's views is the series of essays first published in the weekly *Catholic University Gazette* from June to December 1854. These essays took the form of leading articles, and Newman described them many years later as intended "to indoctrinate the Irish people in the idea of a university." In November 1856 twenty of these articles were published in a little volume entitled *The Office and Work of Universities.* Nearly twenty years afterwards the contents of this book were embodied in the third volume of the Historical Sketches with a new title *Rise and Progress of Universities.* Although they also were composed at great speed and under considerable extraneous difficulties, their style is simpler and their manner more equable than those of the *Discourses.* One gets the feeling, unusual with Newman, that he actually enjoyed writing them, and they are probably the most easily read of all his works. Their great value is that they provide us with a popular, clear and easy version of the same essential doctrine which is expounded in a rather abstract and difficult manner in the Rotunda lectures. Even more than the latter they are related to the practical work upon which Newman, by the time he came to write them, was fully engaged. Finally, we have a

full record of this practical work in all its details, with many interesting illustrations in the form of documents, in the book *My Campaign in Ireland* which was privately printed under the editorship of Father Neville in 1896. It is a great misfortune that this book, which rounds off and completes the picture of Newman at work on education, should be so rare. For the general reader however much of its material is now at long last available in Father Fergal McGrath's very thorough study, *Newman's University : Idea and Reality,* published in 1951.

I have often felt—and indeed said—that while the *Discourses* are very similar to one of the lost Aristotelian treatises which formed the model for works like Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations,* the *Sketches* resemble rather Plato's imaginative reconstruction in the *Republic* of the origin of the state. A simple clue to the rather forbidding structure of the nine *Discourses* as they are now usually read lies in the recognition that they are divisible into two clear parts. The first part consists of four of the five lectures which were all that were delivered in Dublin, and as we read them to-day we can hardly wonder that they caused a certain bewilderment in their hearers. Their subject is the unity of knowledge, or rather its hierarchical order and the anarchy caused by the fashionable modern disregard of this hierarchy. In particular they are concerned to re-establish the claim of Theology to be the queen of sciences while showing that is is equally subject with all other sciences to the rule of order. The anarchy which ensues upon the neglect of order is splendidly illustrated in the last Discourse of this group of four by the example of the Professor of Political Economy at Oxford and his Inaugural Lecture in which he claims a moral function for his science and almost identifies wealth with religion.

This doctrine of the unity and hierarchy of knowledge is of course fundamental to all university education, and examples of the consequences of its neglect similar to that adduced by Newman still abound ; but one could easily conceive of a more explicit, if not a more appetising, presentation of it than the one we find in the *Discourses.*

Their second part ennunciates and discusses one of Newman's most famous doctrines : that Liberal Knowledge is its own end. Formulated as it is in rather special terms this doctrine has an even wider scope and importance than the first. In the five Discourses devoted to it, it is linked up with a famous Oxford controversy in which Newman's seniors at Oriel had taken a prominent part : the controversy which began in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1808 between the ancient idea of education, preserved in an imperfect form at Oxford, and the new utilitarian idea which afterwards found its embodiment in the University of London. The treatment of Liberal Knowledge in the *Discourses* can be fully understood only by reference to the *Sketches* and to the lecture on *Christianity and Letters* now printed in *The Idea of a University.* Newman would perhaps have made

himself clearer if he had dwelt on the concept of *tradition*, which is what he was really defending. In the *Sketches* he shows with effective eloquence how this tradition originated in " the bright and beautiful Athens " of the Periclean Age, and how it was passed on by the Church through the Seven Liberal Arts which dominated in the medieval Faculties of Arts, and gave its essential quality to the medieval university. Since Newman's time we have learned much about the formation of this tradition of the Liberal Arts in the Hellenistic period and its transmission to the Middle Ages. The vigorous interest of modern scholars in the subject has recently been displayed in the brilliant work of Henri-Irénée Marrou and Pierre Courcelle.[1] It is now becoming clearer that it was even to Newman that the decay of this tradition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and its partial supersession by the purely literary ideals of Renaissance humanism was a cultural disaster—a disaster from which it may be said there emerged the Oxford of the late eighteenth century as caricatured by Gibbon.

The Oxford curriculum of Gibbon's day was indeed a peculiar mixture in which a decadent medievalism struggled sluggishly with an equally decadent humanism. It is possible even for an admirer of Newman to feel a certain sympathy with the utilitarian onslaught on this highly imperfect dual survival. Nevertheless Newman was entirely right in his belief that the utilitarian reformers, with their zeal for unrestrained professionalism and merely technical knowledge, ran a grave risk of throwing the cultural baby out along with the bath-water of the *ancien régime*. It is of interest to note that this utilitarian attack was not the only danger which threatened liberal knowledge. It was parallelled by an attack from the other side which derived its strength from totally different motives of very ancient origin. In Newman's time this attack had been renewed especially in France by writers like the Abbé Gaume, whose *Le Ver Rongeur des Sociétés Modernes, ou le Paganisme dans l'Education* had appeared in 1851, a year before the *Discourses*. Like the Liberal Arts themselves, this attack on them from the moral and theological side is older than Christianity. When Seneca enquired, " What then ? Do liberal studies confer no benefits upon us ? " and answered, " In other respects much, in regard to virtue, nothing," he was merely repeating a commonplace of the Stoic and Cynic Schools, which in itself represents a perversion of Plato's views. The Abbé Gaume and writers of his kind represented a puritanical streak which links Christianity in a strange fashion with ancient Cynicism. His ideas were roundly disapproved of by the French hierarchy in his own time, notably by the great bishop Dupanloup, but we may be sure they contributed something to the Irish

[1] *Saint Augustin et La Fin de La Culture Antique*, par H.-I. Marrou ; Paris, 1938. *Les Lettres Grecques en Occident, de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, par P. Courcelle ; Paris, 1943.

complex with which Newman had to deal, as they certainly inspired later criticisms of Newman himself.

When the tradition of Liberal Knowledge had first taken shape and before it was transferred from the Greek to the Roman half of what was to become the " One World " of ancient times, the Greek phrase which served as its description was *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*. This phrase is of course familiar to us in the word *encyclopaedia*. It is now pretty well agreed that in the Greek phrase the word *ἐγκύκλιος* means simply " global " or " general ", so that the word *encyclopaedia* in the meaning of " a repository of general knowledge " is not far from the original sense of the phrase. What Newman in fact meant by Liberal Knowledge was what we should nowadays call *general knowledge*, conceived of as a preliminary both to professional training and to civic life. The use of the word *liberal* in this context is apt to prejudice modern hearers, and was particularly apt to prejudice Newman's hearers, the Catholic clergy and laity of Dublin in 1852. It has of course only a remote and indirect connection with *Liberalism*, the theory of politics and social conduct which was the outcome of the Revolution, and which took different forms in France, England and America in the 19th century. In 1852 Gladstone was scarcely half way through the long process which converted him from a Peelite Tory into the leader of the Whigs and transformed the latter for the time being into Liberals. To Newman, " liberalism " meant chiefly the utilitarian philosophy of which Peel and the Whigs in their different ways were both practical exponents. Many years afterwards in replying to a congratulatory address from Irish Catholics on his elevation to the Cardinalate Newman was to claim that he had resisted liberalism with the best of his powers " for thirty, forty, fifty years." It is possible that the elementary ambiguity involved in these two opposite uses of the word *liberal* has to some extent caused Newman to be unfairly criticized.

On the other hand it may be claimed that he was a liberal in the truest sense of the word in the important matter of the content of the Faculty of Arts as he wished it revived. Himself a classical scholar, mathematician and musician, philosopher and theologian, he was bound rigidly neither to the old scheme of the Seven Arts nor to the too exclusive classical and literary curriculum which had largely taken its place. Even as late as Newman's time something of the medieval shell of the Trivium and Quadrivium still survived in Oxford ; but it had come to be more and more filled with the elaborate discipline of Latin prose and verse, of which the fine flower was perhaps Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India, Governor General of Canada, and later Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland.[1]

[1] See *Life of Lord Dufferin*, by Sir Alfred Lyall (Nelson's Popular Edition), p. 148 : " The study of Latin grammar, Latin verses, and Latin composition, in none of which did I ever attain any great proficiency, now occurs to me as the sum total of the official instruction I received, from the time I was six years old, to the time I was twenty."

In defining the *product* of liberal education again Newman used a term which was still more open to misunderstanding even then, and has become a serious stumbling-block since his time. All his readers are familiar with the splendid definition of *the gentleman* in the eighth Discourse, which represents almost the high-water mark of his prose style. Perhaps less well known is the account in the seventh of the *Sketches* of how this concept is genetically and historically related to the Athenian ideal of the καλὸς κἀγαθός. Mr. Seán Ó Faoláin has recently suggested that in his youth Newman, when he first found himself at the High Table of Oriel as a Junior Fellow, had suffered a good deal from his "shabby genteel origins and dim social backgrounds." I am inclined to think that Mr. Ó Faoláin is here yielding a little to his own "King of the Beggars" complex. Be that as it may, the fact remains that although Ireland was once at least as devoted to its native aristocracy as any country in Europe and although we still at times like to style ourselves officially as *daoine uaisle,* the standard of "the gentleman" was not a good standard for Irish educational needs just after the Famine, and it has become even less so since the Land Wars and our national revolution. More even than the ambiguity of "Liberal knowledge", Newman's use of the word *gentleman* has caused his educational doctrine to be thoroughly misunderstood and misconstrued.

The clue to his meaning is to be found in the relation between his ideal and that of the Athenians, so beautifully described in the *Sketches.* Athenian education like education everywhere else was in early times aristocratic and military. One of the things that made Athens unique was that there, for the first time in history, this ancient and traditional training was transformed into an effort to produce good citizens for a free society by the conscious use of pedagogical skill. This is indeed the origin of the word *liberal* in association with knowledge, which goes back, as we have seen, to a time before Christianity. Newman has pointed out correctly—and this is vital for his whole theory—that in Athens, for all its brightness and beauty, the ideal of the καλὸς κἀγαθός was defective for want of *discipline.* In Roman times the discipline was indeed supplied, but Newman rather hints that it was overdone and that the pinnacle in ancient higher education was reached with the institution of the Museum at Alexandria by the Ptolemies, which he proceeds to equate with the college in the medieval university.

This brings us to what is perhaps the most interesting part of Newman's theory : his view of the relation between the gentleman thus defined and the Christian, and of the parallel relation between the university and the college. It was as clear to him as it ever was to his critics that the gentleman in essence was a pagan product, just as the essence of the university was already in being in pre-Christian Greece. Liberal

Knowledge is its own end in the sense that its product is the gentleman in Newman's special meaning of the term. He devotes considerable space in his fifth and sixth Discourses to a consideration of the qualities with which the gentleman is by his education endowed. This quality he terms the perfection or virtue of the intellect. " In default of a recognisable term," he says, " I have called the perfection or virtue of the intellect by the name of philosophy, philosophical knowledge, enlargement of mind or illumination." Thinking as he obviously is of the practical intellect—for the gentleman is necessarily an active member of a given society,—it is rather a pity that it did not occur to him to call this perfection or virtue by its traditional name, *prudence.* Thirty years ago Professor Werner Jaeger made a great advance in Aristotelian study by establishing the originality of that philosopher in his capital distinction between the virtue of the practical intellect, for which his word is *Phronesis,* and that of the contemplative intellect, to which he gives the name *Sophia* or wisdom *tout court.* The distinction it appears had not occurred to Plato, and the lack of it in his system is one of the fundamental differences between him and his great pupil. We are not, I think, misinterpreting Newman when we suggest that in his view the main function of Liberal Knowledge is to train in the virtue of prudence, which is merely the Latin for Aristotle's *Phronesis.*

Mr. Christopher Dawson has recently pointed out (*Understanding Europe,* p. 248 ff.) that Newman's great contemporary Matthew Arnold—whose brother was a Professor of the Catholic University and later of the Jesuit College—was both an example and a champion of a kind of non-Christian culture which he defended vigorously against the Philistinism of the age, but which in the long run proved inadequate to the task he allotted to it of upholding " sweetness and light " against the destructive effects of industrial civilization. It was, of course, Arnold who gave their first vogue in English to both the word " culture " and the word " philistine." His battle was a losing one from the beginning, partly because the culture he championed was too remote from the popular taste of contemporary England, but even more because he failed to make the distinction upon which Newman insisted so much between the gentleman and the Christian, or to recognize that in Christian Europe, in spite of all the damage done by various revolutions, the former cannot subsist unless by some special technique he becomes also the latter. Critics of Newman have frequently failed to observe that whereas he does most emphatically insist upon the pagan origin and quality of what he calls the gentleman he is equally emphatic about the necessity for this transformation, though he does not expect to bring it about by the same means that produce the gentleman. In thus blaming Newman for a fault which he was in actual fact himself the first to identify and define, his critics clearly run the risk of equating him with Arnold ;

but the great distinction between them is precisely Newman's insistence on the vital importance of religious training in education.

Newman has been accused of propagating a " philosophy of severance" because he insisted on the demonstrable historical fact that Liberal Knowledge or the Liberal Arts did not in themselves or in their essence produce the Christian but rather the gentleman or the cultured free citizen. The charge is only capable of a certain degree of plausibility if attention be concentrated exclusively on the *Discourses*, where the historical tradition of university organization and teaching is reduced to a theoretical *definition*. It was Newman's own consciousness of this distinction that led him finally to entitle his Discourses *The Idea of a University*, giving the word *Idea* almost its Platonic sense of form or essence. He also tried to deal with the difficulty in three separate introductions which he drafted for the original sixth Discourse[1] but afterwards suppressed. In the second of these drafts he emphasizes that while the direct object of a university as such is to impart knowledge, this is merely its *idea* or strict definition. More is necessary to what he calls its *integrity*, that is, to its preservation in its pure state ; and this additional provision was made by the Church in the Middle Ages in the form of the College, in which the religious life and the moral training and discipline of students could be safeguarded. " While the Church uses a university for Knowledge, on the other hand, to secure its religious character and the morals of its members, she has ever adopted together with it, and within its precincts, Seminaries, Halls, Colleges and Monastic Establishments."

Newman of course did not confine himself to giving a theoretical definition of a university, although his critics often speak as if he had. He also established one and administered it for four years. His theory can thus be supplemented and illuminated by his practice. The Catholic University, as organized by him, had two characteristics which in themselves provide a complete answer to all his critics. Religious Knowledge formed part of the courses for all examinations in its Faculty of Philosophy and Letters ; and it was organized for purposes of residence into Halls or Houses which were clearly designed to develop at a later stage into Colleges. Of these Halls there were actually three : Nos. 16 and 6 Harcourt Street (the latter afterwards even more famous as the headquarters of Sinn Féin) and No. 86 St. Stephen's Green, and they were called respectively St. Laurence's, St. Mary's and St. Patrick's or University House. It is perhaps worth noting here that No. 85 St. Stephen's Green was not acquired for the University till several years after Newman's departure. In establishing these he was deliberately reverting to the system which existed in Paris and Oxford in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the influence of the Church on the university

[1] For these see now Father McGrath's *Newman's University*, pp. 168–174.

movement was at its height, and which he imagined to have existed in a rudimentary form even before the university as such took shape.

We have also the evidence of Newman's weekly articles in the *Catholic University Gazette,* in which he gave his charmingly Platonic view of the history of universities, beginning with their origin in " the bright and beautiful Athens." In these Sketches his distinction between the *Idea* of a university and its *Integrity* takes on a new form and a wider scope. His theory of liberal knowledge as its own end must be studied with the *Sketches* constantly in mind. In them he sets the origin of universities in the emergence of gifted and attractive teachers such as Protagoras in the fifth century B.C., or Libanius in the Athens of St. Gregory and St. Basil, or Abelard in Paris at the beginning of the twelfth century. It was with this in mind that he set himself to secure for his University at its foundation " Professors of note, whose names are known to the continent, to the world." Right at the root of the whole university movement he placed the personality of the great teacher, drawing his pupils from all directions and all types. He has been again criticized for this emphasis on the living personality of the teacher and on his attractive power, and criticisms have come from curiously different quarters. In his own time that splendid Irishman Dr. MacHale of Tuam denounced him for filling the University with allegedly overpaid Englishmen, and this criticism has not always been completely silent since then. More recently his definition of a university as " a place of teaching universal knowledge ", which is clearly related at least in part to this emphasis on the great teacher, has been condemned as not making sufficient allowance for research. It is clear however that greatness in the organiser of research differs only in mode but not in kind from the power of attraction that Newman desiderated in his professors.

The function of the great professor he defined as " Influence," likening him to the trader in costly wares at a great bazaar or market. From this point of view a university is in essence a place where " Free Trade in Knowledge " prevails and where the eager student can purchase any kind of knowledge he fancies even if it come from the far ends of the earth. Nowhere is there to be found a better or more vivid description than in Newman's *Sketches* of a university from this aspect as it existed in rudimentary form in Periclean Athens or in Athens at the time of Basil and Gregory. This was the historical reality that was drawn into a definition in the *Discourses* and given new life in the Catholic University of Ireland.

But the *Sketches* also give us the reverse side of this bright and attractive picture. They dwell at length on the evils to which a university in its bare essence is prone, and their picture of these evils culminates in the sketch of Abelard. The great professor resembles the great actor in that his besetting sin is vanity. From this besetting fault springs an arrogance

which easily passes over into indiscipline. The case of Abelard shows how these defects impair or destroy the work of the most brilliant teacher so that his life becomes a process of " laboriously doing nothing." Worse however than the effect upon the professor himself is the anarchy which his example breeds among his students. In order to render the pure form of the university safe from the decay to which such anarchy quickly leads, it was found necessary to set up within the university places of residence where students might find new homes and where they might be readily and painlessly made subject to the Discipline which may be regarded as the opposite pole in university education to Influence. " A College is all and does all that is implied in the name of home." In providing colleges the Church has thus corrected the defects inherent in the ancient idea of the university with its pagan background. At the same time she has provided an answer to the doubts and misgivings aroused by the statement of the historical fact that Liberal Knowledge is its own end.

I have not said anything of Newman's work for the professional faculties, though in respect of each one of them that work was highly important. On the one hand these aspects of his activity in Dublin will be dealt with by other lecturers, so that it becomes unnecessary for me to anticipate Surgeon Doolin or Professor Wheeler or to emphasize Newman's eventually immense contributions to Irish life by his foundation of the Medical School, or his boldness in appointing a Professor of Architecture. On the other hand there can be no doubt that for him the professional schools, while he was a pioneer in his realization of their importance, were subordinate to and peripheral on the Faculty within which he conceived the main business of a university to lie. As he said himself in the lecture on *Christianity and Letters,* to the importance of which I have alluded, " a university is formally based and emphatically lives in the Faculty of Arts." In this again he was expressing a truth in his grasp of which he transcended the historical knowledge of his time. It must be emphasized however that his attitude, whether to the collegiate system or to the content of the Faculty of Arts, was very far from being that of the reactionary devotee of the past as which he is sometimes criticized. He neither wished nor strove to transplant to Ireland the decadence of Oxford, so scathingly condemned by Gibbon. His work as he saw it was to found on Irish soil a new type of university which, while drawing upon the lessons of the past, would at the same time be capable of meeting the challenge of the present and the future. It will I think be conceded that few other men in his time were so sensitive to that challenge as was John Henry Newman.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

Newman on Faith and Reason

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I SUPPOSE the most remarkable feature of Cardinal Newman was his faith. It may be more popular to think of him in other ways, to appreciate his style rather than his thought, his theory of liberal education rather than his theology. Yet it is as a theologian and an apologist that he is above all important and must always exercise the greatest influence. Whether it be a sermon or a lecture or a poem, faith for Newman is always the dominant interest : all subjects lead towards faith and are by faith in turn illuminated. It is this habitual preoccupation with divine faith, as superior to all natural knowledge, that puts him in the full tradition of the great mediaeval theologians and of the early Fathers, whom he so venerated and whom by long years of study he had learned to know so well.

To the problems of faith and reason Newman devoted his deepest theological reflexion, and the two theories which he proposed, and which still bear his name, are recognized by theologians as having considerable value in the theoretical and practical questions of faith. One of these relates to the part played by reason in the genesis of faith in the mind and the other to the development of Christian doctrine. It is with the former theory that this paper is concerned.

In the *University Discourses* Newman describes how the scope of natural theology includes all that can be known about God by natural reason alone, and he shows elsewhere how this natural knowledge, when possessed in its fulness, disposes the mind for the supernatural knowledge of God as the Author of Revelation.[1] It is here, at the point of contact between our natural and our supernatural knowledge of God, where the crossing is made from reason to belief, that important and subtle questions arise concerning the nature of divine faith and its genesis in the mind, which form the particular object of Newman's theory on faith and reason.

Newman's interest in this subject began in his early years in Oxford. His previous training had been evangelical and Calvinistic, with, as he says, an all-absorbing conviction of the existence of God. In Oxford he soon came under the influence of the Liberal or Noetic School of Oriel, of whom the most prominent figure was Dr. Whately, subsequently Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. This was a School of Anglicans, of advanced views, with a strong tinge of Rationalism in the tradition of the eighteenth century. They tended to disallow authority in matters of faith, and they laid particular stress on the apologetical arguments, or

[1] *Idea of a University* pp. 60–70; *Sermons to Mixed Congregations*, pp. 277–279; *Grammar of Assent* pp. 396–398, 415–416.

the Evidences, as they were called, which are the normal approach to and defence of Christianity. In this view divine faith would appear to be the purely natural outcome of a process of reasoning, a rational system partly historical, partly philosophical, proved to the hilt and irresistibly cogent to every intelligent and unprejudiced mind. Christianity needs only to be understood to be embraced and the strength of a person's faith is in proportion to his ability to defend it.[1]

Newman's association with this school had the effect of weaning him from his narrow evangelical creed to a wider and a greater toleration of other religions. He was, in fact, himself drifting towards Liberalism. Still his belief in the fundamental dogmas of faith remained unshaken. He writes in the *Apologia* :

> I have changed in many things : in this I have not. From the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion : I know no other religion : I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion : religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and a mockery. . . . What I held in 1816, I held in 1833 and I hold in 1864. Please God, I shall hold it to the end. Even when I was under Dr. Whately's influence, I had no temptation to be less zealous for the great dogmas of the faith, and at various times, I used to resist such trains of thought on his part as seemed to me (rightly or wrongly) to obscure them.[2]

The year 1828 was a turning point in Newman's religious development. From that time his intimacy with the Liberal School began to wane ; he began systematically to read the Fathers, and he turned more and more to the study and the defence of Dogma. From then on his life's battle was with Liberalism, that is, with the anti-dogmatic principle and its developments. Already before the beginning of the Tractarian Movement in 1833 a new theory of faith and reason was taking shape in his mind, and he made a first attempt to formulate it in the Sermons which he preached in Oxford University in the years between 1826 and 1843. But the problem still continued to occupy his mind, and it was not until 1870 that he published the final form of his theory in the *Grammar of Assent.* These two works, the Oxford University *Sermons*[3] and the *Grammar of Assent* contain the

[1] *Cf.* Rickaby, Joseph, S.J., *In an Indian Abbey,* Burns & Oates, London, 1919, p. 47.

[2] *Apologia* p. 49.

[3] The Oxford University Sermons belong to Newman's Anglican period, and the view of faith contained in them is at times ambiguous and not always acceptable to Catholics. In the Introduction to the French Translation of the University Sermons (edited by Fr. H. Tristram, Cong. Orat., *Gregorianum,* 1937, Vol. XVIII), as well as in his Preface to the third edition and in footnotes, all written after his conversion, Newman explains the more ambiguous points of the Sermons in a Catholic sense. cf. Fr. Philip Flanagan, *Newman, Faith and the Believer,* London. Sands. 1946, Chps. IV and V and Fr. F. Bacchus, Cong. Orat. : *Newman's Oxford University Sermons* ; in *The Month,* July, 1922 ; pp. 1–12. The present paper is only concerned with the principle of antecedent considerations as a leading idea in the University Sermons, which Newman brought over to his Catholic works. In the *University Sermons* he seems at times to exaggerate the importance of antecedent considerations to the prejudice of the external arguments for Revelation : as a Catholic he sought to reconcile both.

substance of his theory on the part played by reason in the genesis of faith in the mind.

Philosophically the question turns on the distinction between scientific knowledge and belief. Scientific knowledge is knowledge through demonstration, and includes both the principles of science, which are known by intuition, as well as of the conclusions, which are known by demonstration. Thus we know the objects around us, and we know self-evident truths, such as that two and two are four, or the axioms of Euclid, as well as truths which follow from these, such as the conclusions of geometry or of philosophy. All these we know because we *see* them in some way, either by intuition or by demonstration. Belief, on the other hand, is knowledge through testimony, and consists not in *seeing* that something is true, but in accepting it as true on the word of another, as one might accept what he hears from a friend or reads in the newspapers. Of course one ought to have sufficient grounds for believing—it is about these grounds that the problem arises ; otherwise belief degenerates into mere credulity. Moreover since the truths which a person can see for himself, whether by sense or reason, are relatively few by comparison with those which he accepts on the word of another, it follows that the field of belief is wider than the field of knowledge through vision. " How few things there are," says Newman, " which we can ascertain for ourselves by our own senses and reason ! "[1] We constantly depend for our information on the testimony of others. Thus belief includes, as part of its content, the whole range of history and geography, outside the narrow limits of one's own personal experience. Unless we have sailed round England, or seen its insularity in some other way, we can only believe that it is an island, and as we cannot have been present at the battle of Waterloo, we can only believe that it was fought. This does not mean that our knowledge of such facts is less certain on that account. Belief can be as certain, in its own way, as is knowledge through vision. To use Newman's terminology, we assent in the one case as in the other, and assent is always unconditional.[2] Nevertheless not all beliefs are certain, and so the problem arises of knowing what beliefs are certain and what are not. By what criterion is this distinction to be made ? This is the central problem of the *Grammar of Assent.*

Meanwhile something must be said about the highest form of belief which is divine faith. This is the act or the virtue by which we assent on the authority of God to truths revealed by God. Faith, says Newman, " is assenting to a doctrine as true, which we do not see, which we cannot

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[1] *Parochial and Plain Sermons,* Vol. I p. 194.

[2] That assent is always unconditional is a fundamental point in Newman. But it is only true if one reserves the term assent for unconditional judgments. Ordinarily assent simply means judgment and in this sense assent may obviously be either conditional or absolute. And as some scientific judgments are unconditional, so also are some beliefs.

prove because God says it is true, who cannot lie "[1] Here the words 'because God says it is true, who cannot lie' mark an essential difference between divine faith and human belief, the faith which rests upon the authority of God and the belief which rests upon the authority of man. A modern writer puts it well : " Supposing one of my friends assures me that he has seen a sea-serpent. The existence of the witness and the *authenticity* of his testimony causes no difficulty, because I *see* him talking to me and *hear* what he says. The decisive and delicate point is to be certain that his testimony is *true*, that is, that the witness is not himself deceived nor deceiving me. In supernatural faith the difficulty is exactly the opposite. If God speaks, it is *a priori* certain and obvious that what he says is true, because it is impossible for him to be deceived or to deceive me. But is the message authentic ? Has God really spoken ? Does a divine revelation in fact exist, and how can I be certain that it does ? "[2] The fact of revelation is, therefore, logically prior to the truths of divine faith and is in this way the primary problem of faith.

The answers to the questions how we know the fact of divine revelation and how this knowledge is related to the act of faith fall generally into three classes :

I. *Theories of rationalist tendency.* Apart from the Pelagians, who taught that grace was not necessary for the Christian virtues, including faith, and the Semi-Pelagians, who said that it was not necessary for the first act of faith, in which conversion consists, others have held that divine faith imposes itself on the mind by a compelling rational necessity. According to these the fact of revelation is discovered by a rigorous process of natural reasoning, philosophical and historical, which compels the intellect to assent, and then issues, without the assistance of grace, in what is sometimes called scientific faith. The chief representative of this way of thinking in the 19th century was the German theologian, Hermes. The Liberal School of Oxford in Newman's time seems to have followed similar lines. It is well to note the errors of such a view : (*a*) In it divine faith becomes an act of mere natural reason ; (*b*) Since according to it the proof from reason compels the intellect to assent, faith loses freedom and merit ; (*c*) It fails to explain why many, who have considered the evidence, refuse to be convinced, or even if they are convinced, still refuse to believe ; (*d*) It fails to account for the case of those who have never considered the evidence scientifically and yet believe.

II. *Anti-rational theories* include, as well as Fideism and Traditionalism, the general Protestant interpretation of faith.

Fideists and Traditionalists held that reason was incapable of discovering the truths presupposed by faith : the existence of God, the

[1] *Discourses to Mixed Congregations* p. 195.

[2] Durand, Alexandre, S.J., *The Certainty of Faith* in *The Downside Review*, Summer, 1949 p. 250.

freedom of the will and the historicity and authenticity of Scripture. They said that these can be discovered only by faith. The best known representative of this school was de Lamennais.

For Protestants generally faith is not an assent of reason, nor does it depend upon any external evidence of history or miracle. It belongs rather to the affective and emotional side of our nature, and consists merely in a certain confidence in God, accompanied by a personal assurance of justification. Kant gave to this view a new philosophical basis by limiting our rational powers to phenomena, thus excluding all speculative knowledge of real beings, including God, the human soul, and the freedom of the will. These fundamental truths, however, he later restored as postulates of the Practical Reason. Faith too is a postulate of the moral order.

Since reason and will are man's highest faculties, all such anti-rational theories in some way debase faith by reducing it to the level of sense or feeling. Moreover, since reason is the faculty of truth and objectivity, they separate faith from truth and thus make the act of faith blind and subjective.

III. *The Catholic view.* Distinct from these two classes of theory is the Catholic view, which teaches, as against the rationalist tendency, that the motive of faith is the authority of God and not human reason, and, as against anti-rational theories, that it is an act of intellect and not a feeling or emotion. It also holds that reason can discover the truths which are presupposed by faith, such as the existence of God and the historicity of Scripture, which make the assent of faith reasonable. Faith in this view has five attributes : reasonable, supernatural, most certain, free, and meritorious.

As to Newman two questions arise : First, what is his general view of the nature of the act of faith ? Secondly, what is his peculiar contribution to the problem of the rôle of reason in the ' preamble ' of faith. The first question is primarily theological, the second primarily logical and psychological.

As to the first, what is most significant in his theology of the act of faith is his consonance with Catholic tradition.[1] That he was able, as he says himself, with no help from Anglicans and little acquaintance with the Scholastics, to achieve so penetrating and orthodox an analysis of so subtle a question is a tribute alike to the objectivity of his judgment and to his ability as a theologian.

We have seen that in the Catholic view faith is reasonable, supernatural, most certain, free and meritorious. Faith then for Newman was a reasonable assent. Perhaps the most striking evidence of this is the history of his own religious development, through its successive stages, from his early days in Oxford until his conversion, some twenty years later. The stages are well

[1] That is, in his works written as a Catholic. In his Anglican works the concept of faith is not always free from error or ambiguity. cf. Flanagan, Philip : *Newman, Faith and the Believer*. London : Sands, 1946. Chps. III and IV.

known: his association with the Liberal School, his separation from it, his protracted study of the Fathers, his gradual passage from an attitude of hostility to Rome to one of sympathy, his despairing attempt in *Via Media* and *Tract 90* to save the Anglican position, and at the end his conscientious hesitation for a period of two years at Littlemore before taking the final step in 1845. This whole period of gradual transition was marked by an intense and deeply rational investigation into the nature of divine faith and the rival claims of England and Rome. If any convert has followed the way of reason as far as it can lead, it was Newman.

This reasonable character of faith also appears in various passages of his works. There is, for example, the definition of faith already given: "It is assenting to a doctrine as true, which we do not see, which we cannot prove, because God says it is true, who cannot lie", and this other: "The act of divine faith is an intellectual assent to Divine Truth."[1] For assent is a judgment of intellect. Again in the *Second University Discourse* he criticizes the Protestant view of faith as a feeling or emotion:

> The old Catholic notion . . . was that Faith was an intellectual act, its object truth, and its result knowledge . . . but in proportion as the Lutheran leaven spread, it became fashionable to say that Faith was not an acceptance of revealed doctrine, not an act of intellect, but a feeling, an emotion . . . and, as this view of Faith obtained, so was the connexion of Faith with Truth and Knowledge more and more either forgotten or denied.[2]

In the sequel he makes it clear that his own view was 'the old Catholic notion'. And commenting elsewhere on the Protestant view that "to have faith is to feel oneself to be nothing, and God everything; it is to be convinced of sin, to be conscious one cannot save oneself, and to wish to be saved by Christ," he says: "But I will answer with all due seriousness, as speaking on a serious subject, that this is *not* faith."[3]

Secondly, faith is a supernatural act, most certain, free and meritorious, elicited under the influence of divine grace:

> The merit of faith is due to the fact that it is an act of free will done with the aid of grace, and not the mere admission of conclusions whose logical necessity prevents the intellect from dissenting.[4]
>
> Faith is the gift of God, and not a mere act of our own, which we are free to exert when we will. It is quite distinct from an exercise of reason, though it follows upon it. I may feel the force of the argument for the divine origin of the Church; I may see that I ought to believe; and yet I

[1] *Theses de Fide*, thesis 1 and 2, *Gregorianum*, XVIII, pp. 226–227. I give Fr. Flanagan's translation throughout (op. cit.).

[2] *Idea of a University* pp. 27–29.

[3] *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, I pp. 170–171.

[4] *Theses de Fide*, thesis 12, *Gregorianum*, XVIII p. 237.

may be unable to believe. This is no imaginary case ; there is many a man who has ground enough to believe, who wishes to believe, but who cannot believe. It is always indeed his own fault, for God gives grace to all who ask for it, and use it, but such is the fact that conviction is not faith.[1]

The absolute and perfect certitude of divine faith does not rest on reasoning or human motives, but solely on the fact that God, the Eternal Truth, who cannot deceive nor be deceived, has spoken.[2]

All this receives a vivid illustration from the history of his own mental state in the period immediately preceding his conversion :

Nov. 7, 1844 : I have very little reason to doubt about the issue of things, but the when and the how are known to Him, from whom, I trust, both the course of things and the issue come . . . I have a great dread of going by my own feelings, lest they should mislead me.[3]

March 30, 1845 : My own convictions are as strong as I suppose they can become : only it is so difficult to know whether it is a call of *reason* or of conscience. I cannot make out, if I am impelled by what seems *clear*, or by a sense of *duty*. You can understand how painful this doubt is ; so I have waited, hoping for light, and using the words of the Psalmist, 'Show some token upon me.'[4]

He explains his difficulty :

My difficulty was this : I had been deceived greatly once ; how could I be sure that I was not deceived a second time ? I thought myself right then : how was I to be certain that I was right now ? How many years had I thought myself sure of what I now rejected ? How could I ever again have confidence in myself ? As in 1840 I listened to the rising doubt in favour of Rome, now I listened to the waning doubt in favour of the Anglican Church. . . . However, some limit ought to be put to these vague misgivings ; I must do my best and then leave it to a higher Power to prosper it. So, at the end of 1844, I came to the resolution of writing an Essay on Doctrinal Development ; and then, if, at the end of it, my convictions in favour of the Roman Church were not weaker, of taking the necessary steps for admission into her fold.[5]

And in the Postscript to the Essay he wrote :

Since the above was written, the Author has joined the Catholic Church. It was his intention and wish to have carried his Volume through the Press before deciding finally on this step. But when he had got some way in the printing, he recognised in himself a conviction of the truth of the conclusion to which the discussion leads, so clear as to supersede further deliberation. Shortly afterwards circumstances gave him the opportunity of acting upon it, and he felt that he had no warrant for refusing to do so.[6]

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[1] *Discourses to Mixed Congregations* p. 225.
[2] *Theses de Fide*, thesis 10, Gregorianum, XVIII, p. 236.
[3] *Apologia* p. 230.
[4] *ibid.* p. 231.
[5] *ibid.* p. 228.
[6] *Essay on Development* pp. x—xi.

So far Newman on the act of faith. The next question, that of the role of reason in the ' preamble ' of faith, is distinct from this. The ' preamble ' of faith is a reasoning process, which issues in the ' judgment of credibility ' : ' it is reasonable to believe ' and ' I ought to believe '. This is still antecedent to and extrinsic to the act of faith. Faith is not a conclusion of reason. A person might see that it was reasonable to believe and that he ought to believe and yet might not believe. And since the reasoning does not compel the intellect to assent, as it does in Mathematics, the certitude of the conclusion is not such as to exclude every possible hesitation, but only every reasonable doubt. " From the human motives there arises a moral judgment that the object of faith is credible ; but before the will has prudently given its command this judgment does not exclude hesitation and fear."[1] The certitude of the judgment of credibility is not metaphysical but moral.

Newman's aim here was to analyse the nature of this certitude and of the reasoning which led to it. He did not attempt to present, in the manner of Apologetics, all the proofs for Revelation, which he knew were already at hand. He wished rather to investigate the part which these proofs play in the conviction of the ordinary man who is not an expert in these questions. He saw that the number of people who could attain to a perfect knowledge of the proofs was comparatively small. Objectively the evidence was the same for all, but people differed greatly in their perception and understanding of it. He had seen different individuals arrive at opposite conclusions from the same evidence : he had seen men convinced on very little evidence and others remain unconvinced by a great deal. This seemed to point to a certain lack of correspondence between the logical structure of the arguments in themselves and the process by which the mind actually came to see that it was reasonable to believe. The problem then was how to explain the relation between objective evidence and personal conviction. And Newman's general answer was that in the ' preamble ' of faith, as in all concrete questions, the individual mind interprets the arguments in its own way, according to its own particular dispositions and outlook, and that this interpretation is made not by formal syllogism, but rather by a process of informal reasoning, controlled throughout by a special power of intellect which he called the Illative Sense. In this theory of assent, which has been the object of so much discussion, there are two parts : antecedent considerations, which are dealt with mostly in the *University Sermons*,[2] and informal inference, which is treated in the *Grammar of Assent.*

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[1] *Theses de Fide,* thesis 9 ; *Gregorianum,* XVIII p. 235.

[2] As already noted, Fr. Flanagan points out that the University Sermons should be read in the light of Newman's own explanation of them in the Latin Introduction to the University Sermons, in his Preface to the third edition and in footnotes, all written when he was a Catholic. cf. op. cit. pp. 66 sqq.

By 'antecedent considerations' Newman means the dispositions, habitually present in the mind, which influence our impressions and our reasoning in all concrete questions, including religion. These dispositions are many and various, and include such qualities as character, temperament, education, desires, habits, prejudices. Together they may be considered as forming a kind of complex quality, such as Fr. D'Arcy calls a mental pattern, by which each person interprets experiences and events after his own fashion, and into which as a background his views are set. For example, those who have suffered unemployment and poverty for any period are more liable to be influenced by socialist propaganda than are those who have not had this experience. We know how difficult it may be to see the other side of the case. Most minds are prejudiced in one way or another, and prejudices may be either good or bad.

Now historical facts also are subject to interpretation, with consequent variation and distortion. One recalls the contradictory accounts given of the Katyn murders in the second world war, according as conflicting national interests were involved. It is notoriously difficult to discover the whole truth about historical events in matters of detail. But divine revelation too is a fact of history, and there is a special reason why it may be subject to individual interpretation. For revelation is not a mere speculative doctrine or thesis for academic debate, to be viewed quite dispassionately. It has a vital practical interest for every individual. It claims sovereign authority over every human action ; it enters into every detail of our moral life and prescribes absolute rules of conduct which bind in conscience. While its hopes attract, its sanctions and punishments may repel, and it is obvious, therefore, that considerations of personal interest may affect our judgment about its truth.

But, and this is most important, while subjective dispositions may thus affect our judgment about the arguments for revelation, they do not in the least affect the truth and objective validity of the arguments in themselves. In common with the whole Catholic tradition Newman held that in themselves the arguments for revelation are as rational and as sound as are those for any historical fact whatever.

> The fact of revelation is in itself demonstrably true, but it is not, therefore, true irresistibly ; else how comes it to be resisted ? There is a vast difference between what it is in itself, and what it is to us. Light is a quality of matter, as truth is of Christianity ; but light is not recognised by the blind, and there are those who do not recognise truth, from the fault not of truth, but of themselves. I cannot convert men, when I ask for assumptions which they refuse to grant me ; and without assumptions no one can prove anything about anything.[1]

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[1] *Grammar of Assent* p. 410. That Newman accepted the validity and force of the Apologetical Arguments for Christianity is also clear from his Essays on Miracles.

Indeed the effect of right dispositions may be not only to render the inquirer sympathetic to the case for revelation, but even to make him actually satisfied with less evidence than the arguments afford. In their scientific integrity the apologetical arguments represent the high road to faith, but they are travelled by comparatively few, as in a similar way the five ways of St. Thomas, in their metaphysical form, are the high road to our natural knowledge of God, and again are travelled by comparatively few. Given the right dispositions a particular individual may be convinced by less evidence than the proofs contain. It may happen, for example, that a particular proof, such as the excellence of the christian moral code, will strike him in a personal way and enable him to pass quickly to the judgment of credibility. If in this way a person is able to be satisfied with less evidence than the proofs contain or the objective necessity would require, he is not acting in a way which in ordinary matters would be considered irrational or imprudent. Experience bears this out : ordinarily one does not feel obliged to consider at length all the arguments for revelation before believing. On the other hand, he who is not properly disposed " says without compunction, ' I do not see this '; and ' that does not follow '; for he is a critic and a judge, not an inquirer, and he negotiates and bargains, when he ought to be praying for light."[1]

Likewise and for the same reason a person who already possesses faith is not easily disturbed by adverse arguments, for he knows that his faith is not merely a matter of argument. Faith rests on the authority and the grace of God and not on arguments, which are only the steps towards faith, and therefore the man who has got up and has no intention of coming down need not bother himself about the steps. Hence it is that the average Catholic is not much concerned about the rational proofs for revelation. He is happy in his faith, more happy, he feels, than those who have no faith and that is sufficient for him.

Now foremost among the antecedent considerations, which favourably dispose the mind for the truth of revelation, Newman places a knowledge of the existence of God ; and his theory of the influence of right dispositions is so well illustrated by his treatment of this question that it will be well to include it here. His argument is briefly this : If it is true that the world without God is unintelligible, it is also true that with God, but without revelation, it is still somehow unintelligible. If reason brings us so far as to acknowledge the existence of God, it seems that it must bring us farther to the point of actually expecting revelation, of expecting that God would somehow communicate Himself to us in a manner more intimate and more satisfying than a cold conclusion of philosophy can

[1] *Sermons on Various Occasions* p. 70.

ever be. Above all, the fact of evil, especially of moral evil, and still more the personal consciousness of sin and of one's helplessness to escape its consequences, incline one to desire and to pray for a closer relationship with God and for greater help in an otherwise irremediable plight. Given this disposition we shall, says Newman, be eager to look out for the signs of revelation and to examine them fairly. "To be easy in believing is nothing more or less than to have been ready to inquire."[1]

This argument is developed in a beautiful passage in *Sermons to Mixed Congregations* and one cannot do better than quote it in full :

> The simple question to be decided is one of fact, has a revelation been given ? You lessen, not increase your difficulties by receiving it. It comes to you recommended and urged upon you by the most favourable anticipations of reason. The very difficulties of nature make it likely that a revelation should be made ; the very mysteries of creation call for some act on the part of the Creator, by which those mysteries shall be alleviated to you or compensated. One of the greatest of the perplexities of nature is this very one, that the Creator should have left you to yourselves. You know there is a God, yet you know your own ignorance of Him, of His will, of your duties, of your prospects. A revelation would be the greatest of possible boons which could be vouchsafed to you. After all, you do not know, you only conclude that there is a God ; you see Him not, you do but hear of Him. He acts under a veil ; He is on the point of manifesting Himself to you at every turn, yet He does not. He has impressed on your hearts anticipations of His majesty ; in every part of creation has He left traces of His presence and given glimpses of His glory ; you come up to the spot, He has been there, but He is gone. He has taught you His law, unequivocally indeed, but by deduction and by suggestion, not by direct command. He has always addressed you circuitously, by your inward sense, by the received opinion, by the events of life, by vague traditions, by dim histories ; but as if of set purpose, and by an evident law, He never actually appears to your longing eyes or your weary heart, He never confronts you with Himself. What can be meant by all this ? A spiritual being abandoned by its Creator ! there must doubtless be some awful and all wise reason for it; still a sore trial it is ; so sore, surely, that you must gladly hail the news of His interference to remove or diminish it.
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> The news then of a revelation, far from suspicious, is borne in upon our hearts by the strongest presumptions of reason in its behalf. It is hard to believe that it has not been given, as indeed the conduct of mankind has ever shown. You cannot help expecting it from the hands of the All-merciful, unworthy as you feel yourselves of it. It is not that you can claim it, but that He inspires hope of it ; it is not you that are worthy of the gift, but it is the gift which is worthy of your Creator. It is so urgently probable, that little evidence is required for it, even though but little were given. Evidence that God has spoken you must have,

[1] *Sermons on Various Occasions* p. 70.

> else were you a prey to impostures ; but its extreme likelihood allows you, were it necessary, to dispense with all proof that is not barely sufficient for your purpose. The very fact, I say, that there is a Creator, and a hidden one, powerfully bears you on and sets you down at the very threshold of revelation, and leaves you there looking up earnestly for divine tokens that a revelation has been made.[1]

The second part of Newman's theory concerns the inference whereby the mind, given the right dispositions, reaches the conclusion that revelation is credible. He calls this inference informal and contrasts it with formal syllogism. Inference, he says, is the verbal expression of reasoning. But since reasoning is the comparison of three notions, one being referred to another by virtue of the relation of both to a third, and as these relations, when fully expressed, take the form of syllogism, it should follow that all reasoning is syllogistic. Yet Newman rejects the syllogism as a means of inference in concrete questions. He does so not only because of the complex nature of inference in concrete questions, which, he says, defies formal expression, but also and more radically, because, under the influence of nominalist principles, he rejected the power of the mind to know universal natures. In Newman's view the universal, dog or horse, is a mere name suggesting ideas, and does not correspond to any single dog or horse.[2] ' Man ' is not a universal term representing a universal nature, and so one cannot conclude that he shall die because man is mortal.[3] The business of the logician in the syllogism is merely to " dress up " middle terms, not to ascertain facts, and so the syllogism is an abstract formula rather than an instrument for discovering truth.[4]

That Newman's nominalist principles led him astray here is obvious. Had he been consistent he should have rejected the syllogism *simpliciter*, not even allowing to it the limited rôle of testing truth, since what does not represent being cannot test truth. Yet the remarkable thing is that, despite these erroneous principles, his general conclusions are not sceptical. Unlike many others who held false principles, his general doctrine seems to remain on the whole unaffected by them. This was no doubt due to his natural sanity of mind and his instinct for perceiving truth, by whatever means, which in so many cases enabled him to rise above the defects of his training in philosophy. And thus for all his rejection of the universal notion and of the syllogism we find that elsewhere he acknowledges the syllogism as an instrument for testing truth and allows to intellect the power to judge the meaning of facts and to know the laws of nature.

The positive side of his theory of inference is found in his account of informal inference. First he points out that our reasoning in concrete

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[1] *Discourses to Mixed Congregations* pp. 277-279.
[2] *Grammar of Assent* p. 267.
[3] *ibid.* pp. 280-281.
[4] *ibid.* p. 268.

matters is more or less implicit, and this is readily intelligible. Apart from Logic we do not always think of the major premise before the minor, nor perhaps do we think explicitly of the major at all, but rather seem to pass immediately from the minor to the conclusion, from antecedent to consequent. Neither do we advert to figure or mood or the rules of syllogism. In some way, at least implicitly, the major is present in the mind, but it fulfils its function so rapidly as scarcely to be noticed. The mind is swayed by the reasoning process as a whole, rather than by its distinct parts. " We grasp the full tale of premises and the conclusion *per modum unius*—by a sort of instinctive perception of the legitimate conclusion in and through the premises, not by a formal juxtaposition of propositions."[1]

Especially is this the case in questions where the reasoning is protracted and complex, and the task of giving formal and verbal expression to its parts becomes practically impossible, at least for the person who is not an expert in a particular subject. Thus in the example given by Newman : " All Protestants are bound to join the Church ; you are a Protestant : ergo ",[2] the reasoning is not so simple as it might seem at first. The premises have to be proved, and this turns out to be a complicated process, branching out into a variety of questions and distinctions. To analyse into its distinct parts and give verbal expression to this entire mass of reasoning involves " an array of inferential exercises large and various beyond calculation " such as is neither necessary nor possible for the ordinary man. He reaches the conclusion " not by any possible verbal enumeration of all the considerations, minute but abundant, delicate but effective, which unite to bring him to it, but by a mental comprehension of the whole case, and a discernment of its upshot, sometimes after much deliberation . . . always, however, by an unwritten summing-up."[3]

He makes the same point by contrasting reasoning with argument : Reasoning is not argument : we reason informally ; we argue formally. " All men have a reason, but not all men can give a reason." To give a reason is to argue, to analyse one's thoughts, to enumerate exhaustively and express accurately all the premises, perhaps very numerous on which one has relied, but this is a feat of which even the expert in a subject may be incapable. It is the most difficult thing in the world, says Fr. Rickaby, to pack all the facts of a complex case into one proposition or into a number of propositions forming a syllogistic series.[4] How seldom will the historian be able to set out adequately the complete proof for the beliefs of which he is perfectly convinced. The evidence is more than sufficient ; it may be so overwhelming as to appear

[1] *ibid.* pp. 301–302.
[2] *ibid.* p. 288.
[3] *ibid.* pp. 291–292.
[4] *op. cit.* p. 54.

infinite, but for this reason it is not of a kind which is capable of being brought completely and explicitly before the mind. Most people would find it impossible to prove by syllogism that Great Britain is an island or that Julius Caesar was assassinated. And what is true of history and geography is true also of other concrete subjects such as economics and politics.

More difficult is Newman's second point that this reasoning is a 'cumulation of probabilities': "It is the cumulation of probabilities, independent of each other, arising out of the nature and the circumstances of the case which is under review: probabilities too fine to avail separately, too subtle and circuitous to be convertible into syllogisms, too numerous and various for such conversion, even were they convertible."[1] This part of his theory has been much discussed and it has been questioned whether he considered certitude possible in concrete matters, including the 'preamble' of faith, and some have charged him with scepticism. Yet the charge is not borne out by his theory as a whole.

These points have to be kept in mind: (*a*) In his use of the term probable, Newman was influenced by the thought of his age, which restricted demonstration and certitude to mathematics. Yet while he denied the possibility of demonstration outside mathematics, he still held that the mind could attain to moral certitude in concrete questions, although he generally avoided the term moral certitude "as having a very vague meaning."[2] To him probable reasoning converged towards a conclusion without reaching it demonstratively, and yet the mind assented to the conclusion with moral certitude; it went beyond the evidence, as it appeared on paper, and recognized the conclusion as not only probable but true.

(*b*) Newman did not call the reasoning process *as a whole* probable, in its full implicit sense and in its final impact on the mind. For the conclusion, however reached, finally emerged as an unconditional assent. Neither was each particular argument, in its full implicit sense, merely probable, since in its full implicit sense it was related to the whole process. But when taken separately from the other arguments and "in the letter", each particular argument was only probable. "Certitude is the result of arguments, which taken in the letter, and not in their full implicit sense, are but probabilities."[3]

(*c*) It would seem then that when he speaks of informal inference as the 'cumulation of probabilities', of proof as 'the limit of converging probabilities,' he does not mean either that probability is the same as certitude, or that a number of probabilities as such can add up to certitude.

[1] *Grammar of Assent* p. 288.
[2] *ibid.* p. 318.
[3] *ibid.* p. 293.

He means rather that it is possible to reach moral certitude through the combination of a number of arguments, none of which by itself would be sufficient to prove the conclusion, but which, when taken together, demand the conclusion, as their only sufficient reason.

Moral certitude depends upon the principle that men, for the most part, act according to their natural inclinations. " For the most part " here marks the exceptions who do not so act, but the fact that exceptions occur is not incompatible with moral certitude. The fact that occasionally a mother will hate her child does not mean that it is not morally certain that a mother will love her child. Nevertheless the possibility of exceptions makes it necessary, when judging about moral certitude, to take account of more than one argument in favour of a proposition, lest that one argument might represent just the exception. But if nature may be contradicted in one or a few instances, it is impossible that it could be contradicted in all or the majority of cases. Consequently the uncontradicted totality of all natural evidence in favour of a proposition must be convincing. " Numberless facts," says Newman, " or what we consider facts, rest on the truth of it: no received fact rests on its being otherwise. There is a manifest *reductio ad absurdum* attached to the notion that we can be deceived on such a point as this."[1]

Fr. Flanagan gives the following example: We are morally certain that Napoleon died on St. Helena. " We have the testimony of a number of historians; but how many of them visited the Emperor during his exile? They in turn can appeal to the accounts of those who were his companions in captivity; but how do we know that they were not all partners in some amazing conspiracy? . . . The evidence is overwhelming, and yet, if we take any single part of the evidence and isolate it from the rest, we shall find that it is not sufficient to put the question beyond all doubt. If we had nothing to go on except the report of Napoleon's death on the island, would we be so confident as to deny the possiblity of the other story? "[2] We have moral certitude here, because it is contradictory to common human certitudes that the coincidence of so much evidence, amounting as it does to all possible evidence in the case, should be false.

In the same sense Fr. D'Arcy speaks of proof by " unity of indirect reference ". He asks, for example, how we know that no Bolshevist revolution has broken out at the present moment in England. Again here, while no one reason by itself might be sufficient to exclude all doubt, all the reasons taken together constitute such a wide field of consistency among themselves and with all relevant facts of experience that they demand the conclusion as their only possible " interpretation ". The

[1] *ibid.* p. 295.

[2] Flanagan, Philip: *Newman, Faith and the Believer*, London. Sands. 1946 pp. 12–13.

pattern of evidence is in a sense infinite, inasmuch as it is one and uncontradicted. "What we really mean," says Fr. D'Arcy, "is that if England were in revolution the bottom would be knocked out of all our certainties."[1] In this way also it seems possible to reconcile probability with moral certitude in Newman's theory of informal reasoning.

The discussion about antecedent considerations and informal reasoning leads directly to the Illative Sense. This part of the theory can be explained as follows: Since in concrete questions the evidence does not appear to the mind with the same clarity as in mathematics, the problem must arise of selecting the right premises, reasoning correctly from these, and recognizing the conclusion as right despite all difficulties and objections. As to the premises, who does not see that in concrete problems of economics, sociology or religion a very great deal depends upon the principles from which one proceeds, and that persons differ widely in regard to these and therefore also in their conclusions. For example, the person who, at the outset of a discussion in sociology, acknowledges the dignity of human nature and the natural rights of the individual, will draw very different conclusions on questions of State control from those which a person, who rejects these principles, will accept. Again persons will differ as to what individual rights are absolute and what are conditional and to what extent circumstances can alter the use of principles.

In such concrete questions it is clear that the whole background of mental formation, including philosophy and religion, is of primary importance. The very first principles of knowledge are of course self-evident, but in concrete questions it is not always practicable to have recourse to these. Consequently one accepts as first principles propositions which are really conclusions from other sciences, still more fundamental, as in sociology one assumes the conclusions of psychology and ethics. In this way antecedent considerations play a great part in influencing principles. To some extent this is even true of the very first principles of knowledge, such as, the intuition of being and the principle of causation. These do not compel assent as do mathematical principles, and so while St. Thomas regards the intuition of being as self-evident, Descartes and Kant say there is no such intuition, and again Hume denies the principle of causation.

As to the reasoning process, it is clear that some people are more liable to fallacy than others. And finally the conclusion will not be accepted even by all who have acknowledged the right principles and have reasoned correctly; for there will still be objections to be overcome, and while some will recognize the conclusion as right despite all difficulties, others will hesitate and be unable to accept.

[1] D'Arcy, M. C.: *The Nature of Belief*. London. Sheed and Ward. 1934 pp. 189 sqq.

Newman proposes as the solution of this problem his famous Illative Sense, which he conceived as a special power of the mind controlling the process of reasoning at every stage. "The sole and final judgment on the validity of an inference in concrete matter is committed to the personal action of the ratiocinative faculty, the perfection or virtue of which I have called the Illative Sense."[1] The word 'sense' here was unfortunate, because it seemed to suggest an irrational instinct, whereas Newman clearly intended an intellectual power, in the same way that one speaks of common sense or good sense. The Illative Sense is the analogue in the speculative reason of what Aristotle calls *phronesis* or prudence in the practical reason. As prudence enables one to judge what is morally right or wrong, here and now in particular cases, so the Illative Sense enables one to judge what is true or false in particular instances. In other words it is the power of right speculative judgment in concrete matters. It is not a power distinct from intellect : it is simply the intellect judging. We all recognize that in practical questions some men have good judgment and others have not, and certain it is that no amount of mere reasoning can supply for the lack of it. It is a mistake to think that questions of morality or religion can be decided precisely like problems in mathematics : principles have not the same kind of clarity, nor has reasoning the same linear simplicity, nor again do conclusions appear to the mind with the same compelling conviction. Doubts will arise as to whether the conclusion is the right one and as to whether it really follows from the principles a long way back. To see one's way through the labyrinth of inference, to apprehend the bearing of so many various principles on the argument, and to assent to the conclusion despite all difficulties requires a perfection of intellect which can well be described as good judgment. It is the Illative Sense of Newman : "A mental comprehension of the whole case and a discernment of its upshot," a grasping of "the full tale of premises and the conclusion *per modum unius*, by a sort of instinctive perception of the legitimate conclusion in and through the premises."[2]

Newman considered that his theory of concrete reasoning supplied the answer to the problem which he had set himself of explaining how the ordinary man, with little detailed knowledge of Apologetics, could, as well as the person who had carefully studied the arguments, come to accept the fact of revelation with at least as much conviction as he does any of the facts of history. This acceptance does not of course mean that he has proved the truths of faith : it only means that he sees that it is reasonable for him to believe and that he ought to believe.

Newman, one might almost say, had the unenviable distinction of being perpetually misunderstood, and since his time his reputation as a

[1] *Grammar of Assent* p. 345.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 301.

theologian has had varied fortune. Of the *Grammar of Assent* he wrote in 1870 : " You will be disappointed with my *Grammar* and so will everyone be. It is what it is and it is not what it is not ; and what it is not most people will expect that it is."[1] Where theologians expected a systematic treatise on the theology of faith, they received instead a discourse on the logic and the psychology of assent, and a defence of informal inference and convergent probabilities. In none of his works did Newman attempt the orderly exposition of a standard work on theology. Following his own theory of antecedent considerations, he aimed primarily at inducing the right dispositions in the reader's mind through a variety of references and illustrations, so as to suggest and insinuate truth rather than force it bluntly on the mind or prove it formally. If this method has obvious advantages in stimulating interest and removing prejudices, it tends nevertheless, through its very diffuseness and wealth of illustration, to obscure the main issue. Small wonder then that Newman's novel ideas, presented in so unaccustomed a fashion, were generally misunderstood by those trained in more systematic and precise methods of thought.

In England the immediate critical reaction was unfavourable,[2] but Newman was even more unfortunate in his disciples and supporters on the Continent, especially among the French Modernists, who adopted him as their father and prophet and among whom, in the words of Pope Pius X there was " something in the nature of a pact that they should seek, in the sanction of Newman's illustrious name, approval of their own inventions."[3] One of the peculiar features of Newman's work is the way in which so many different systems of thought, both Catholic and non-Catholic, have claimed parentage with it, or have been influenced by its ideas or are in some way similar to it. On the non-Catholic side one thinks of pragmatism and phenomenology, as also of the work of Balfour, Bergson and Scheler, all representing the personal and intuitive rather than the objective and formally rational approach to philosophy. The pragmatist F. C. Schiller, for instance, acknowledged his indebtedness to Newman,[4] while the intuition of Bergson and the Illative Sense of Newman have often been compared. Such affinities and comparisons

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[1] *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman,* edited by Anne Mozley. London. Longmans, Green and Co. 1890, II p. 429.

[2] The English critics included Fr. Thomas Harper, S.J. (in 1870), Leslie Stephen (in 1877 and following years), Principal Fairbairn (in 1885), Thomas Huxley (in 1899) and Edwin Abbot (in 1892). For an account of this criticism cf. Cronin, John Francis : *Cardinal Newman, His Theory of Knowledge.* The Catholic University of Washington, 1935 pp. 73 sqq.

[3] Extract from letter sent by Pope Pius X to Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick after the publication of the latter's pamphlet : *Cardinal Newman and the Encyclical Pascendi Dominici Gregis,* (London, Longmans, Green and Co. 1908). *Acta Sanctae Sedis,* (1908), 200–202. Quoted in Benard, E. D. : *A Preface to Newman's Theology.* Herder. St. Louis and London, 1946, p. 155.

[4] In letter to Wilfrid Ward (Ward ; *Last Lectures* pp. 86–87) referred to by Cronin, J. F. op. cit. p. 115.

with unorthodox systems have had the effect of making Catholic philosophers and theologians steer clear of Newman. But a reaction has come and in the present century there has been a marked movement towards a better understanding and appreciation of his work. A number of Catholic writers have devoted special studies to his thought and have drawn copiously on his ideas. Father Eric Przywara, S.J.,[1] representing the Newman movement in Germany, Father Pierre Rousselot, S.J., in France, who adopted many of Newman's ideas in his own famous theory, and among writers in English Father M. C. D'Arcy, S.J.,[2] and Father Philip Flanagan[3] are some of those who have contributed to this result. There are similarities too between Newman and Catholic existentialists as, for instance, in the distinction of notional and real assent. Newman was thus remarkably before his time in anticipating many recent views on the relation between faith and reason ; while his correspondence with older writers, such as St. Thomas, in his analysis of the rôle of will and of divine grace in the act of faith, and with de Lugo in his theory of probability is evident to all.

It has been said that Newman belongs to a class of writers who are more read about than read and the reason is apparent. Writing mostly on questions of theology and philosophy, his thought is too deep and subtle for those who would read him lightly. Newman is unique among English writers in his sustained combination of deep theology and superb prose, but he cannot be read for any length for his prose alone. One cannot for ever take the style and leave the thought. Indeed the very excellence of the style can be a handicap if it attracts so much as to distract attention from the meaning. " You are a treacherous writer ", wrote Blanco White to Newman, " You slip so softly through the critic's fingers." Newman requires careful reading, even study, but the study repays amply. His ideas are always fruitful and when evolved are found to have the most far-reaching effects in various questions of philosophy and theology. It is natural that Newman should have a special appeal and value for those interested in conversions to the faith. And the educated layman will find philosophy and theology presented in their most attractive form in his Catholic works on faith and reason.

JOHN D. HORGAN

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[1] Przywara, E., S.J. : *A Newman Synthesis*. London. Sheed and Ward. 1932.

[2] Op. cit.

[3] Op. cit. Other writers in English include Fr. J. F. Cronin, op. cit.; Fr. Benard, E. D. : *A Preface to Newman's Theology*. Herder. St. Louis and London. 1946 ; Fr. Bacchus, F. Cong. Orat. : articles on the Oxford University Sermons and the Grammar of Assent in *The Month*, July, 1922, pp. 1–12, and Feb. 1924, pp. 106–125, respectively, and Fr. Tristram, Cong. Orat. : *A Newman Synthesis* in *Clergy Review*, Feb. 1931 pp. 126–142.

Newman and his Medical School

The Fateful First Lustrum (1855-60)

by WILLIAM DOOLIN

IN any discussion of Newman's philosophy of education I am not qualified to enter even the outer Court of the Temple. I can but offer you a sadly imperfect account of the birth and infancy of the School of Medicine which from his unequalled knowledge of the mediaeval systems he knew to be a necessary Faculty in any University, in company with those of Philosophy, of the Humanities, and of Science. But the sources from which an authoritative account might be compiled today are sadly few : some have been lost, others mislaid, and such as have survived are so widely scattered that I have been unable to consult them at first hand.[1]

Let us cast a swift glance back to the Ireland on whose soil Newman first set foot on October 1st, 1851. To every student of Ireland's social history surely the most impressive event of the nineteenth century must be that succession of waves of famine and fever which culminated in the " Black Forty-Seven." That year had seen the whole country engulfed in common catastrophe. In compiling the Census of 1851 Wilde and his associates computed that from its immediate results the population of Ireland had dwindled by nearly one-third. That legacy of a diminished, stationary population is with us yet.

As Newman travelled to Thurles from Dublin, the forlorn countryside, the squalor of the little towns, the apathy of those who dwelt in them—inevitable aftermath of so much suffering—must have been depressing in the extreme. He had left behind him a capital city of a quarter of a million souls, its streets teeming with beggars clad in rags and living in filth behind its handsome facade of Georgian elegance. There an earlier traveller on the Holyhead packet—a London comedian—had tickled the ears of the groundlings in the Crowe Street theatre with his comment that " until he came to Dublin he could never imagine what the London beggars had done with their cast-off clothes."

That was to be the first of many visits within the next three years, each visit marking a fresh station on his *via dolorosa* of doubt, despondency

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[1] For such information as I have been able to gather I am deeply indebted to two ladies : to Miss Stafford, who so generously laid at my disposal the treasures of her brother's library ; and to Miss Power, who combed the resources of our College Library to find the information which I sought ; I fear that I plagued both ladies sadly ! To Fr. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., I am no less indebted for the generous inroads which he made on his own holiday time, thereby saving me from serious error by his personal labours amongst Newman's papers preserved in the archives of the Oratory in Birmingham.

and frustration, as portrayed in his letters and notebooks. Ruefully, he returned from each to England wondering " if His Holiness had known more of the state of Ireland . . . . he would have abstained from decreeing a Catholic University." In retrospect our wonder is that any of those who encouraged him had the temerity to embark on the scheme at all.

A few years before Newman's arrival in Dublin, our greatest clinical teacher—Robert Graves—had died. While he lived, with William Stokes as his colleague, he had raised the Dublin School for a brief period to that of a Mecca, whither came men from England, from France, from America, to harken to their bedside teaching at the Meath Hospital. These men taught the art of physic only. It was all they knew ; for in their day, medicine, as Magendie, the father of physiology, had pityingly described it, was *une science entièrement à faire.* The face of disease they knew, but not the truth that lay hidden behind, for they had not yet the method of attaining it. " Before Pasteur," said Osler, " all was Egyptian darkness ; after him came light."

The eighteenth century had bequeathed three groups of medical practitioners to its successor : physician, surgeon and apothecary. There was an elaborate system of etiquette between the three groups ; there was considerable professional jealousy ; there was inevitable, and often highly unbecoming, friction. In Dublin, as in other cities, the physicians had the highest social standing ; as scholars of University, they were considered to have had the best training and to possess a cultural background. The surgeons were the " practical " men, united in their determination to lift their specialty to a more respectable level. The apothecaries were the physicians to the poor and throughout the rural districts : their minute books, preserved today, are eloquent of the fact that with them, too, as with their betters, the guinea stamp was on all their work. The Hippocratic *ethos* was a long forgotten code of bygone centuries, recalled to the attention of the receptive few by the printing (1794), for private circulation, of Thomas Percival's *Code of Medical Ethics.* That slender volume is a rare item in the booksellers' catalogues today, but it remains one of the classics of our professional literature.

In 1850 four examining bodies in Ireland were by charter empowered to issue licences or confer degrees as testimonials to the possessor's proficiency in the arts of medicine and surgery. Of these the most ancient was the College of Physicians, for whom Sir Patrick Dun had obtained its (second) Charter from William and Mary after the Battle of the Boyne. Dun, a graduate of Aberdeen, had been the first to perceive that there was need for the establishment of a School of Medicine in Dublin ; the terms of his last will and testament (1713), by which his property was directed to the foundation of a School of Physic, provided

the Dublin lawyers with a handsome income for the remainder of the century. In anticipation of Dun's bequest, an Anatomy House had been built within the walls of Trinity College in 1711. The eventual disposition of Dun's property led to the integration of the College of Physicians with the University School of Physic and the building of a hospital for the clinical education of the University's pupils in the art and practice of physic only.

For centuries there had been war to the knife between the physicians and surgeons of western Europe. Their quarrel was a legacy from the mediaeval university of Paris[1] whose example was followed by Oxford and Cambridge ; Dublin followed suit. Not one of the three Sisters would look at a surgeon. In 1784, the Dublin surgeons, having shaken free of the " disreputable " alliance with the barbers, had obtained a Charter from George III authorizing them to open a College in which to provide their colleagues and apprentices with the benefits of " a liberal and extensive system of general education."

As was common practice amongst the mediaeval guilds, the apothecary had at one time been linked in chartered fraternity with the surgeon. In 1740 the Dublin apothecaries had broken this link, thus securing their independence. One of their number, Charles Lucas, having obtained his medical degree at Leyden, returned to Dublin with a far-seeing and beneficent plan. Through the country, the only medical attendant for the peasantry, in Ireland as in France and Britain, had been the travelling journeyman surgeon. Lucas's plan was to open a Hall in Dublin as a central depot for the supply of medical services throughout the country : there practitioners would be taught and qualified by licence for a moderate fee, then, by guaranteeing these licentiates a monopoly of the sale of drugs they would be induced to live in the smaller country towns and villages. The Hall was established by the Apothecaries' Act (1791). For years it held the monopoly of the import of drugs to Ireland, thereby becoming a wealthy corporation ; they had secured a large house in Mary Street, and later purchased an abandoned theatre in Crowe Street for their Medical School. We shall find a further interest in this building as we proceed.

As the century opened, therefore, there were three bodies in which—up to the passage of the Emancipation Act—the Irish Protestant youth might qualify as physician, as surgeon or as apothecary. The Catholic student, prohibited by penal law from a professional education in his own country, had been compelled to seek it in the Continental schools, from Salamanca to Paris. Two such, Sylvester O'Halloran of Limerick, and William Dease of Maryborough, products of the Paris School, had been the prime movers in securing the Charter for the Irish College of Surgeons.

[1] Wm. Doolin, " Georges Mareschal." *Annals R.C.S., Eng.*, Feb. 1952.

In 1845, three Colleges were established by Peel, the reluctant advocate of Catholic Emancipation, at Cork, Galway and Belfast, which were to be free from any tinge of sectarianism. Christened by the Parliamentary draughtsmen the Queen's Colleges, and dubbed out of hand at their birth by the Low Church champion as a " gigantic system of godless education," O'Connell's use of the sobriquet of the " Godless Colleges " passed henceforth into Irish vernacular speech. But Rome was not to be satisfied with any measure of " godless " education. *Non ita sunt tractandae res Ecclesiae !*

At the outset there had been some play with the idea that the Catholic University should have its seat in Thurles. The University Committee was unanimous that the University should be in Dublin. Newman's comment on their decision shows that from the very beginning he visualised a Faculty of Medicine as a necessary and integral part of the university :

> Of course there was a prestige on the name of Metropolis, and besides, how could we have a Medical School in a country village such as Thurles ? "

In his third *Discourse* he gives the imperative reason for the establishment of a Medical School :

> Looking at Medicine merely as an art, and that one of the primary and most necessary arts of life, the difference which results to a Catholic population is incalculable between the presence of a body of practitioners who recognize the principles and laws of its religion, or of a body of men who are ignorant or make light of them.

In his Second Report to the Episcopal Board (October 31, 1856) he provides a trenchant analysis of the composition of the staffs of the Dublin hospitals :

> Out of all the Dublin Hospitals only three have any Catholic practitioner in them at all, and even in these three the Catholic officials do not exceed the number of Protestant. Out of sixty-two medical officers altogether in the various Hospitals, the Catholics do not exceed the number of ten.
>
> Again, out of five medical schools in Dublin (excluding our University), three have no Catholic lecturers at all, and the other two have only one each. So that, on the whole, out of forty-nine lecturers, only two are Catholic.
>
> Putting the two lists together, we find that out of one hundred and eleven medical practitioners in situations of trust and authority, twelve are Catholic, ninety-nine are Protestant.

Although in his later writings Newman would appear to date the commencement of the Catholic University from the Whit Sunday in early June, 1854, on which he had been formally installed as Rector,

in his first Rectorial Report submitted in October of the year following, he presents their Lordships " a record of acts, or at least results, which have been the chief occupation of my mind for the last four years." The Medical Faculty, he states, " was naturally one of the first which gained his attention." His first care had been to provide a body of Professors who, being " eminent each in his own department of knowledge, would, by reason of such eminence, draw students " to the School. Thus it had been in the dawn of the first universities when " learned men came and opened schools, and their existing reputation drew followers. The schools rose into importance by the enthusiasm kindled by distinguished teachers, and the popularity and recognised utility of the subjects of which they treated."

He went on to report that he had effected the purchase of the well known Medical School in Cecilia Street ; that he had every reason to be satisfied with the transaction ; the situation was central ; the house in fair repair ; its internal arrangements having " a convenience and completeness not to be surpassed elsewhere in Dublin or any other part of Ireland."

> The University Schools, he continued, have already opened there with great promise of success, though only those Professors are as yet appointed who were absolutely necessary for the Commencement.

He had, at least, a building. It was the one-time theatre which since the accession of Victoria had served the apothecaries as the training-ground for their apprentices. At an earlier stage, during the " philosophic " days of the seventeenth century, it had been the home of the Dublin Philosophical Society, who could boast of its laboratory, museum and " physick garden." There Benjamin Alcock, a hot-tempered but able anatomist from Cork, had taught anatomy to the Dublin apothecaries till called in 1854 to take over the Anatomy Department in the School of the Queen's College in Cork. With his departure, the Apothecaries School closed. Its acquisition would be a prize indeed, but the Dublin Corporation rates in that year were 6s. in the pound, and poor Thomas Scratton was at his wits' end to meet the £15 odd owing on the house on Stephen's Green. Andrew Ellis bought the premises in Cecilia Street for £1500. " It would never have been sold to us," Newman declared afterwards, " if it had been known that we were trying for it. Dr. Ellis told me that for a fortnight he had not been able from nervousness to get a good night. It was a great act."

Ellis's name appears in the Report as the designated Professor of Surgery in the School. In 1850, although a Catholic, he had been President of the Royal College of Surgeons. The surgeons had always been more tolerant of religious differences than the physicians : O'Halloran and Dease, to whose joint action they owed the Charter of their

College, had been of the proscribed faith, and Dease had been their first Professor of Surgery when they had opened their School. Ellis, a Wicklow man, had passed out a Licentiate from that School in 1820, and in 1844 had attained to Fellowship of the College. As surgeon to Jervis Street Hospital he had shown himself an attractive and energetic teacher. To the surgeon of the period anatomy was the fundamental requirement, and many of them earned larger incomes teaching the subject in the private (*i.e.*, unlicensed) schools than they did in practice. Ellis had been Professor of Surgery in the School of the Apothecaries Hall from its opening in 1837, and, as the leading Catholic surgeon of his day was consulting surgeon to St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. In 1848 he has published his *Lectures on Clinical Surgery*.

One can find little more detail to tell of him. In Scratton's letter-book we find two notes which, perhaps, hint at a certain gruffness of manner :

10 Sept., 1855.

My dear Dr. Ellis,

The bearer, Mr. McCormack, says that he has very carefully studied anatomy for 3 years in different places, and did not read with Mr. O'Reilly. Is there no possibility of a mistake in the identity of the persons ?

Please be as civil as you can to him, and pump him as much as possible,

Very truly yours,

T.S.

Again, a month later, comes another enquiring student.

Oct. 13, 1855.

My dear Dr. Ellis,

The bearer is Quinlan, who thinks of completing his medical studies with us. Please be very civil to him.

Yrs. truly,

T.S.

Ellis was now in his 63rd year. Newman was undoubtedly grateful to him for his acquisition of the School premises, but perhaps a little apt to be impatient with him. " Dr. Ellis did well in getting it (Cecilia Street) for us, but he had little idea of making ventures." We may reflect that few elderly gentlemen already entered on their seventh decade are inclined to be venturesome. From the opening of the School, Ellis and his colleagues were apprehensive about the non-recognition of the School's certificates. Sullivan, the Professor of Chemistry, on the other hand, took the line : " Raise up something good, and people will come. The supply will create the demand." This was to take a somewhat sanguine view of their position, but in Sullivan, the Rector had found a kindred enthusiasm to his own. " His views were large and bold, and I cordially embraced them."

All through that summer of 1855 Newman was in England—but from the Secretary's Office in Cecilia Street the indefatigable Scratton kept him *au courant* of progress in a stream of letters, copying each one into his letter-book with molelike industry ; no detail was too small to be overlooked, none failed to be set on record. Between November 9th, 1854, and October 26th, 1855, he had written 1,819 letters, each one faithfully copied into the letter-book and numbered.

On August 17th, 1855, the first public announcement of the School was issued. This appeared in two forms : as an advertisement in the daily press, and as a handbill for distribution after Mass at the churches throughout the country. It read as follows :—

School of Anatomy, Medicine and Surgery,
Cecilia Street, Dame Street,
Dublin.

This school will be opened for the instruction of Students on the 1st October, 1855. The Rector, the Very Rev. Dr. Newman, has already designated the following Professors :

Professors of Anatomy and Physiology :

Thomas Hayden, f.r.c.s.i., late Lecturer on Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy in the Original School of Medicine, Peter Street.

Robert Cryan, l.r.c.s.i., l.r.q.c.p.i., late Lecturer in Anatomy and Physiology at the Carmichael School of Medicine.

Professor of the Theory and Practice of Surgery :

Andrew Ellis, f.r.c.s.i., late Lecturer in the Dublin School of Medicine, Peter Street, and Surgeon to the Jervis Street Hospital.[1]

Demonstrator of Anatomy :

Henry Tyrrell, l.r.c.s.i.

Practical Anatomy will be commenced October 1st., and the Lectures November 1st.

Four days earlier, Scratton had written, *Chantecler*-fashion, to Newman at the Oratory :

Cecilia Street,
13th August, 1855.

My dear Father,

In every detail of the Medical School I have been very careful to consult Dr. Ellis, and by Saturday we shall have for the different newspapers as full an Advertisement as circumstances will allow me to frame. I have just got together a meeting of the three Professors,[2] and they are now awaiting me. When I have seen them I will send you word of the result. All is to be completed within a month from this date, which will just give us a little breathing-time previous to opening on the 1st October.

[1] Was Ellis possibly sensitive, as a recent President of the Royal College of Surgeons, of his long connection with the School of the Apothecaries ? The omission in this announcement is striking.

[2] Ellis, Hayden, Cryan.

His next paragraph carries a reference of absorbing interest which must later be examined in greater detail.

> Like yourself, I am annoyed with Corrigan, and my only consolation is that we shall have nothing to do with him ; and no doubt when our School has grown into a great Institution he will chew the cud of vexation at the part he has taken.

The School of Anatomy, Medicine and Surgery on the eve of its opening had none to fill the Chair of Physic. Two days later a further letter from our indefatigable secretary throws a beam of light on one possible reason for the hesitations of the surgeons which had so chafed the Rector :

15 Aug., '55.

> My dear Father,
>
> The Doctors have been here this morning again and they seem to feel that our staff of Medical Professors is sadly deficient with the Chairs of both Chemistry and the Theory and Practice of Physic unoccupied. Dr. O'Ferrall was mentioned as likely to fill the latter, and the final conclusion at which we arrived was this, that although there were some trifling objections to him we were compelled either to forego the Physical Instruction all together, or else make overtures to him to lecture at least during the winter on that subject, there being positively no other Catholic medical man in Dublin with whom we could treat. Would you give us permission to make overtures to him ?

Scratton's reference to Corrigan tells us that Newman had failed to secure the leading Catholic physician in Dublin for the vacant chair. With Corrigan declining to come forward, Joseph More O'Ferrall, the senior member of the staff of St. Vincent's Hospital, was the next choice. Some ten years older than Corrigan, a bachelor with few social graces, his had been a Laennec-like figure in his early poverty and in his passionate devotion to his work. Few, if any, in Dublin had his knowledge of pathology or had so many published communications to their credit. But he was already past the age at which a man might accept fresh burdens and, never a very popular person, was little calculated to draw students as would Corrigan. Furthermore, his sight, strained by years of heavy reading, was beginning to fail. There is no record of Newman's having adopted Scratton's suggestion.

Beyond all question, Corrigan would have been a brilliant acquisition to the staff of the new School. A Dublin-born graduate of Edinburgh, he had for many years been the leading Catholic physician in Ireland, and a prominent figure in the social life of the capital. There he had served three hospitals (Cork Street, Jervis Street and House of Industry) in turn, in all of which, according to Cameron, " his success as a lecturer was unequivocal." His description[1] of the clinical and pathological

[1] *Edin. Med. Surg. J.*, 1832, xxxvii, 225.

picture of aortic regurgitation had won him, while yet a young man, an international celebrity. But, so far as Newman's desire for his collaboration was concerned, there was one serious drawback to his selection—he was a Senator of the Queen's University.

Scratton's reference is but one end of a lengthy correspondence concerning Corrigan. Late in 1851, his name first appears in a letter from Frederick Lucas, furnishing Newman with a list of prominent Catholic laymen whom he should consult on the University question when he came over to deliver the first of the *Discourses*. At the Oratory there is a collection of letters (No. 9, 1855) marked " Correspondence with and about Dr. Corrigan." From these letters[1] it is apparent that Corrigan's connection with the Queen's University had been the source of much concern to Newman all through 1855. Some time in April he had clearly consulted Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Ardfert, to whom he had never turned in vain when seeking advice. Dr. Moriarty replied in these commendatory terms :

Tralee,
May 1, 1855.

> There is no doubt that Corrigan's name and Corrigan's talents would be of immense service to the University. His being one of the Senate of the Queen's University seems a difficulty, but I do not think it likely that the two institutions will come practically into collision. It is most desirable to secure Corrigan . . . .

Ellis knew Corrigan well. They had been colleagues on the staff of Jervis Street Hospital for many years, and in 1855 were respectively consulting physician and surgeon to Maynooth College. About the same time Ellis writes to Newman at Harcourt Street :

110 Stephen's Green,
Monday evening.

> I hope to have the pleasure of calling on you . . . . tomorrow, when I will, without reserve, answer any questions you may wish to ask me relative to your contemplated appointments. I will likewise tell you of the result of my reflections as to the mode in which *I* can best ascertain the opinions of the most Revd. Drs. McH—— and Slat——y relative to the expediency or propriety of appointing Dr. C——n.

By the middle of May, Newman had almost made up his mind to offer the vacant Chair to Corrigan. There are two drafts, in his handwriting, of what form the offer would take :

May 12, 1855.

> Acting under the existing Statutes of the Catholic University, by which the Rector is empowered to designate and present to the Bishops for definitive nomination its Professors,

[1] For the quotations from these letters I am deeply indebted to Rev. A. Gwynn, S.J.

I hereby offer to D. Corrigan, Esq., M.D., the Professorship of the Practice of Medicine from November next, at a salary of £150 per annum, in addition to the fees of students[1] attending his Lectures, the fees being £2 2s. od. each course and 5 per cent. being paid by him out of them to the University.

JOHN H. NEWMAN,
Rector.

Newman had left Dublin for Birmingham towards the end of May, and from the subsequent correspondence it is apparent that he never actually sent this offer in writing to Corrigan. It is also plain from later letters that he had had more than one personal interview with Corrigan before leaving Dublin, and in a letter from Corrigan to Newman, under date of June 6th, it becomes apparent that, from the first of these interviews, Corrigan had declined to discuss his own personal position in the matter. A second letter from Ellis throws a little more light on Newman's withholding the offer :

110 Stephen's Green,
June 18th, 1855.

I have seen Drs. Corrigan, Cryan and Hayden since you left. The results of the interviews were variable, being with Dr. Corrigan unsatisfactory, with Dr. Hayden the reverse——.

During my interview with Dr. Corrigan I felt very unhappy ; his manner was cold, cautious and reserved. He said whatever passed between you and him had no reference to himself, and that his opinion and suggestions were given in reference to *third* parties and that up to the *present* moment you have made no offer or proposal to himself *personally*. He says if you send him a proposal in writing he will reply to it without delay. Under these circumstances I think the sooner you communicate with him the better. Drs. Cryan and Hayden may stand over until you return to Dublin as some *viva voce* explanations will be necessary before the written agreements can be completed.

I consider your form of appointment very explicit as far as it goes, but if you had no objection, I would suggest that in your proposal to Dr. Corrigan, you would add that in the event of obtaining a Charter that Medicine should be mentioned in order to disarm him of any excuse he may wish to offer for declining to take a part in the School.

AND. ELLIS.

On June 6th Corrigan had written to Newman :

4, Merrion Square, West,
June 6th 1855.

My dear Sir,

I fear some misconception has arisen out of our conversations, and yet I can scarcely take all the blame to myself for it. I endeavoured if I recollect rightly to explain that in all our conversations, any opinions I

*In one of the two drafts Newman has added a later note : " *non-matriculated ?* "

expressed or information I was able to give you, in reply to your inquiries, had reference solely to general views on arrangements and were to be distinctly understood as having no application whatever, directly or personally, to myself.

The observation I made or intended to convey at our last conversation on your shewing me a form of proposal was that I thought it probable Professors would require some sufficient guarantee for the permanence of appointment and salary, and that if it were to occur in my own case I should act under legal advice, as I could not consider myself competent to form an opinion on such a matter.

On all matters of general agreement or detail, I shall, until they are completed, be happy at all times to give you all the information in my power, but on the same understanding as heretofore.

D. Corrigan.

In this letter, Corrigan's attitude is as " cold, cautious and reserved " as had been his manner with Ellis. Whatever hesitations as to security of tenure Cryan or Hayden may have had, Corrigan had no reason to fear the possibility of dismissal, once appointed. But behind the delicate fencing of both principals in these negotiations lay the unspoken, unacknowledged fear of the opposition of Dr. McHale and his supporters. On such slender evidence as these letters afford, we may surmise that the one feared to be the occasion, as the other feared to be the recipient of a public rebuttal.

Would the opposition of Dr. McHale have been either so adverse or so forceful? Clearly, Dr. Moriarty did not believe so. On June 25th, nearly three weeks after Corrigan's letter to Newman, he strikes a more encouraging note :

Tralee,

June 25, 1855.

. . . . If Dr. Corrigan ceases to hold connection with the Queen's University, you may safely make his appointment in the most absolute manner. Not a Bishop in Ireland but will be delighted to have him associated with the University. By making him Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and giving him the direction of that department, you may calculate on great success.

If he continues to hold his place in the Senate of Queen's University we may expect a protest from a certain quarter, and should therefore make sure of support. In this supposition it were better (to) ascertain Dr. Dixon's opinion and, if we can, Dr. Cullen's. If they coincide with us, we need fear no opposition.

From all that we can ascertain today, two facts appear certain, viz., (*a*) that Newman strongly desired to secure Corrigan as a member of his staff and (*b*) that, having actually gone so far as to draft a formal offer in writing, he never sent it. In the course of the interviews which had taken place in Dublin—as will be seen from Newman's long-delayed

reply to the letter of June 6th—Corrigan had voiced his doubt of the likely duration of the School's survival, had no very high opinion of the site chosen in which it was to be established, and had expressed himself unfavourably on the degree of control to be exercised by the Bishops. Newman's reply, written after he had received Dr. Moriarty's second letter from Tralee, contains no tinge of his friend's optimism ; it is a sad, but courteous *non possumus ;* it carries, too, a note of rebuke, so gently, but none the less firmly expressed, to " one of little faith."

July 1, 1855.

Dear Sir,

I have given my best attention to the points, which you offered to my consideration as conditions of your giving us your important assistance in the University Medical School ; and I am sorry to say that, as regards two of them, I fear I shall not be able so to arrange matters as to satisfy your wishes.

I do not contemplate a difficulty in the question of the *salary* to be attached to the Professorship of the Practice of Medicine, or that of the *Gentlemen* who are to be associated with you in the School : but I await with some anxiety the ultimate view you will take upon other points which you set before me.

You felt it necessary, if I understood you, for me to give you some assurance of the *continuance* of the Institution, and of your place in it, supposing you took part in it, *greater* than the solemn determination of the Holy See and the National Synod, carried out in the act of the Bishops upon my presenting to them your name. I would gladly give you something beyond this, if I could : but the more I think of it, the less do I see how it can be done. It is the very guarantee on which I thought it worth while to leave my own home in England to take part in what I felt to be a great work ; and, while I considered, and still consider it sufficient myself, I am obliged to say I cannot devise anything which you may think more satisfactory.

And in like manner, as to the other point, the *School* in *Cecilia Street*, I bought it on such available advice as I had, and with which I am still perfectly satisfied, the advice of able and experienced practitioners, and I cannot ask the University authorities to reverse an act, which has involved great expense, and which I recommended to them.

It grieves me to relinquish the hopes which I have so long entertained of your assistance—nor indeed will I yet do so. But I am obliged to send you the letter which I promised you in answer to the distinct considerations to which you directed my attention.

I am,

J. H. N.

As the summer months wore slowly on in Dublin, the anxiety of the three Professors mounted steadily as day succeeded day with no word from the Rector. Deprived of his encouraging presence, the practical

difficulties which Corrigan had pointed out to Newman were constantly before their minds. One in particular seemed to them almost certain to jeopardise their venture : with no authorizing charter, of what legal value would be a medical degree conferred by a phantom University unrecognized by Government? To Newman, a University degree was a testimony of merit rather than a qualification ; to them it was a matter of bread and butter. " No one," asserted Newman, " practises medicine on an Oxford degree." There he was in error, as the columns of the first *Medical Register* were later to show. But, even as one of the many Dublin " private Schools," which of the licensing bodies would recognize the validity of the lectures given at Cecilia Street? Their anxiety assailed even Scratton. We find him writing to Henry Wilberforce in London :

August 24, 1855.

> In common with many others, I think, we ought, if possible, to obtain a Charter for our University. Without it we cannot grant degrees that are recognised in the Queen's Dominions, and many refuse to come to us on that account . . . . The Rector preserves absolute silence . . . .

Enquiries, too, were coming on behalf of prospective pupils. To one such, the Rev. Jas. Ryan, P.P., St. Patrick's, Kilkenny, Scratton replies a month later :

September 21, 1855.

> My dear Sir,
>
> . . . . I am happy to be able to say that the Royal College of Surgeons will receive the certificates of our School of Medicine. For years the School in Cecilia Street has been a recognised place of education for medical students according to the provisions of the Anatomy Act, and the Professors already appointed have been engaged in Medical Education previous to their joining us, and their certificates have been accepted by the College.

A shade disingenuous, perhaps. Careful examination of the minute-books of the Council of the College from 1852 to 1857 has failed to disclose any allusion to the School in Cecilia Street prior to the meeting of 10th July, 1856, at which Dr. McSweeney's request for recognition of his lectures on Medical Jurisprudence was received and recognition granted. Had Scratton private grounds for belief that the recognition granted to the certificates of the pre-existing School of the Apothecaries—in which Ellis had been Professor—would pass to its successor with the lease of the premises? No document exists today revealing the terms of the purchase. That there had been some official criticism of the advertisement for the new School we gather from the last entry in Scratton's letter-book ; it is addressed to Edward Steele, the Registrar of the College of Physicians :

October 26, 1855.

Sir,

Absence for two or three days in the country has been the unavoidable cause of my delay in replying to your note dated the 20th Oct. I am truly sorry to find that the Prospectus seemed to the Royal College of Physicians so worded as to require explanation. As it was drawn up by the Professors, I leave it to them, should they think it right, to offer you any further remarks upon it : but, as far as the University is concerned, I have only to say that the Prospectus has stated no more than a matter of fact.

Yr. obedient servant,

T. S.

Our little Secretary was a tactician of the first order !

Indomitably the Rector pressed on. Faith was to him the principle of action, and an apostolic mission had been entrusted to him.

Founded in Faith
On the basis of Charity,

the School was formally opened on November 2, 1855, with an Inaugural Address delivered by Ellis, as Dean of the three-man Faculty. Its beginnings were as humble as had been those of the Surgeons' School from which these men had qualified, and, like its prototype, it began with two subjects only, those of anatomy and surgery. They had heavy opposition to face. In that autumn term of 1855, 461 students had already entered their names for the lectures in anatomy in the rival metropolitan Schools,[1] while the Queen's Colleges showed a muster-roll of 166 entrants.[2]

The thirty-six pupils who began their dissections under the direction of Hayden and Cryan, all evidence would go to show, commenced their studies without any formal assurance that they would be allowed to present themselves for the professional examination of such chartered institutions as were empowered to issue diplomas or Letters Testimonial.

Hayden, so calm, so courteous, that he was affectionately known to all as " Gentle Thomas," was a Tipperary man (b. 1823). In 1850 he had received his Letters Testimonial from the College of Surgeons, and passed his Fellowship examination two years later. He had started to teach anatomy shortly after he had qualified, and was Newman's first choice for the Professor's Chair. This he held till the foundation of the Mater Misericordiae Hospital, the staff of which he joined as physican in 1865. In 1867 he was elected a Fellow, and later became Vice-President of the College of Physicians.

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[1] At the College of Surgeons, 129 ; Ledwich, 130 ; the " Dublin School," 75 ; the Carmichael, 74 ; and at T.C.D., 43.

[2] At Belfast, 81 ; Cork, 63 ; Galway, 22. Cameron: *History of R.C.S.I.*, 1886, p. 696.

Robert Cryan, a Roscommon man (b. 1826), had been a pupil of the Carmichael School. Qualifying as L.R.C.S.I. in 1847, he was speedily appointed to lecture in anatomy in that School. Possibly his appointment in Cecilia Street was at first as an able second to Hayden. When the latter joined the Mater staff (1865) Cryan succeeded as the sole Professor of Anatomy, under Dr. Woodlock's Rectorship. In the early '60's he was appointed physician to St. Vincent's Hospital. He, too, was a gentle soul. In his obituary memoir one finds a passage of such Victorian *naiveté* as might have been penned by Miss Austen herself :

> He was wealthy ; which circumstance, along with a naturally quiet unassuming demeanour, prevented him from making that figure before the public eye which a more pushing man might have done.

Dublin has every reason to be proud of her earlier teachers of anatomy, all of whom had been practising surgeons.[1] It is a curious coincidence that Newman's anatomists—both of them " Surgeons' men "—should have forsaken anatomy for the gentler art of physic. With them we have an even more interesting link with the Cecilia Street of my own day : Cryan's successor, in 1881, was the young Dr. (later Sir) Christopher Nixon, our Professor of Medicine in the Royal University.

Newman's faith was speedily justified. In his Second Report, presented to the Bishops on October 31, 1856, the Rector states that the joint labours of the year just past had been to lay down the rudiments of the organization of the University on the pattern of Louvain, as directed by the Synod of Thurles (1850). His earlier Report, he reminds them, had been presented " at a time when the University was little advanced even into its childhood." The establishment of a Medical Faculty had been " one of the most important and encouraging of our initial successes."

" The numbers entering the School for its first year admittedly had been small, due to the fears of non-recognition " ; those fears had now been removed by the assurance of the recognition of the College of Surgeons,[2] and the new Session was opening with an increase in the number of pupils. Two new Professors had been designated for their Lordships' approval, W. K. Sullivan in Chemistry, and Robert Lyons

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[1] Wm. Doolin : " Dublin's Surgeon-Anatomists." Vicary Lecture. *Annals R.C.S. Eng.*, Jan. 1951.

[2] On August 1, 1856, the Council had recorded its recognition to the lectures of Robert McDermott on Materia Medica. On August 29, 1856, the lectures of W. K. Sullivan in Chemistry were likewise recognised, and on October 10, 1856, " the lectures of a Licentiate of this College—Dr. Robert S. Lyons—on the Theory and Practice of Medicine, just about to be delivered in the Cecilia Street School of Medicine " also were granted recognition.—*Minutes of Council, R.C.S.I.*, 1856.

in Medicine. Once more, as with a clarion call, he emphasizes the need for a Catholic School of Medicine :

> Whether viewed as an art or as a science, in a Catholic population there is an imperative call for Catholic practitioners ; for the practitioner at all the crises of human life, at birth and at death, could prove himself either the most valuable support or the most painful embarrassment to his companion attendant in these moments, the priest of the parish.

His primary objective, then, was :

> to form a school of medical practitioners, who not merely avail themselves of our classes, but are identified with Alma Mater as her children and her servants, and who will go into the wide world as specimens and patterns of a discipline which is at once Catholic and professional.

In an Appendix to this Report he lays stress on two adjuncts of medical teaching which, in his view, were " of intrinsic value," the appointment of tutors, and the close association of the University School with the staff of a hospital, as " the basis for a professoriate for students in medicine." Trinity College, he pointed out, through its School of Physic was integrated with Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, and the College of Surgeons had followed suit with the erection of their hospital in Baggot Street. A few months before the issue of the Report, Newman had had some correspondence with Fr. McNamara,[1] a Vincentian, on the proposal to connect the School with St. Vincent's Hospital, but there the matter seems to have ended.

His third Report, submitted October 31, 1857, was his last. In this, as in its predecessors, the progress of the Medical School is the first item to which their Lordships' attention is directed. The report of Dr. Hayden, who had succeeded Ellis as Dean of the Faculty, is cited *verbatim*, as are those of the Deans of the other Faculties. Hayden can point to a gratifying and material advance on the *status quo ante*. The feelings of despondency with which the Dean and his professional colleagues had set out upon their venture were now completely dissipated by events. Within two years, from all the chartered bodies in Ireland (save one) had come complete recognition of the School's certificates : henceforth the Cecilian student might present himself without fear of refusal for the examinations of the Irish Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, of the Apothecaries' Hall, and of the Queen's University. Certain of the senior pupils had already done so, and, having obtained the Letters Testimonial of both the Dublin and the London Colleges of Surgeons, on those qualifications had been accepted for professional service in H.M. Army and Navy. Newman's stout-hearted assertion of the year before to Sullivan that " even if the University were to fail "—at which possibility Sullivan had

[1] Fr. McGrath, S.J., *Newman's University*. Brown & Nolan, 1951. p. 396.

evidently been hinting—" the Medical School would certainly live on " had been substantiated. Some weeks later he writes to Pollen from the Oratory : " It is only the Faculty of Arts which halts . . . . We are prospering in Medicine."

How gratefully even a little encouragement will turn our greys to rose ! Prospering the School most certainly was not, at this stage ; promising, by comparison with the other Faculties, it certainly was. The Faculty of Law had died stillborn ; the Faculty of Science had opened its laboratories only a few months earlier ; and from every Professor in the Faculties of Philosophy and Arts came the same mournful chant of the insufficiencies of Irish secondary education. Scratton was fussing furiously over the cost of the School : it had an overdraft of £253, yet from every teacher kept coming daily demands for more material and better equipment, with two Chairs yet to fill.

Newman's School of Medicine had opened with 43 students ; in the year of his departure there were 59. His faith in its destiny was justified in the steadily swelling roll of the three years which followed his departure ; for '58—'59, 73 ; for '59—'60, 95 ; and for '60—'61, 110. The seed had fallen on no stony soil.

Two years after the School had opened, the indiscipline of medical practice was brought under control by the British Parliament. With passing of the Medical Practitioners Act (1858) a General Council of Medical Education was established whose statutory duty it was to keep an annual *Register* of properly qualified practitioners. Henceforth, no practitioner could legally claim professional recognition unless his name was enrolled upon the *Register,* erasion of one's name from which was—and still remains—the most serious penalty for professional misconduct.

Of the first issue of the *Register* (1859) only one copy survives today ; it is preserved among the Council's archives in London, and I have been unable to consult it. Through the courtesy of the late Dr. J. C. Martin, Irish Registrar of the G.M.C. here in Dublin, I have been permitted to make a detailed examination of the second issue, that of 1860. Analysis of the Irish registrations entered in that issue affords evidence of the relative strength of the several qualifying corporations in Ireland during the years of Newman's Rectorship. In all, there are some 16,300 entries on that *Register* : from the Irish schools had come 965 Licentiates and Fellows of the R.C.S.I., 485 from the Apothecaries' Hall, 276 from T.C.D., and from the (three) Colleges of the Queen's University, 48. With but few exceptions, the Cecilia Street students were to be found in the first group (L.R.C.S.I.). Through the recognition first granted by the Irish College of Surgeons, Newman's students had been afforded entry to a *carrière ouverte aux talents.*

We know very few of the names of those first Cecilians. One we have already heard—that of " Boxer " Quinlan, the boy whom Scratton had sent with a note of introduction to the harrassed Dean of the Faculty. He had come to Cecilia Street from Trinity College to attend Ellis's lectures in surgery. Qualifying L.R.C.S.I. in 1856, he took his degree in Arts and Medicine in T.C.D. in 1857. Two years later, he was on the School's staff as Lecturer in Materia Medica. Like Robert Cryan, whom later he joined on the staff of St. Vincent's Hospital, he was blessed with worldly goods ; his father was proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, the oldest " daily " in Ireland.

One other name—*clarum ac venerabile*—I have found amongst the prizewinners of that last year—'60–'61 : that of George Sigerson, our venerated link with " Newman's men " in the days when, as a callow youth I first entered the portals of University House as a member of his class in Biology.

Was Newman's mission in Ireland the " sublime failure " which Sir Shane Leslie would have us consider it ? Some there are would answer " yes—and yet no." My answer is, emphatically, *No !* With his deep knowledge of the growth and history of Europe's universities, none saw so clearly from the outset the immensity, the near-impossibility of the task that had been laid upon him by Rome. " It is enough for me if I do so much as merely begin."

Each year of his Rectorship has left us its tangible relic of his sojourn amongst us : the *Discourses* of a century ago in which, in matchless prose, he outlined his idea of a University ; the historical work of Eugene O'Curry, with its re-awakening of an older native scholarship the end of whose stimulus we have not yet seen ; the little gem of a University Church in which he worshipped ; this house, the St. Patrick's College in which he taught, re-named to remind us of his labours. His School in Cecilia Street is no more, transmuted into a Faculty grown to such stature as he never dreamed of, fulfilling, through its progeny, the design in which he trusted, of " exerting an influence on the distant future and to the ends of the earth."

William Doolin

Newman and Literature

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MY title really covers two subjects. I might speak of Newman as a practitioner in literature, a writer, or I might speak of Newman as a reader, theorist, and historian of literature. I have, perhaps unwisely, yielded to the temptation of dealing with both ; my excuse shall be not only that each is interesting, but that each bears on the other and helps to illustrate it. My line through both subjects shall be that Newman looks like, but is not, a pure intellectualist.

I. Newman's Prose and Verse

Dealing very rapidly with the large subject of Newman's prose, I shall put his few weak points, as I see them, first. Like all the publicists of his time, he wrote too much to be always at his best. He did not distil perfection like a Sir Thomas Browne in a more leisured age ; the time of journalism had arrived. Newman often, in a too urgent quest of clarity, uses an excess of illustrations and parallels ; he has too many synonyms, and a fluency of abstract words, so that the texture of his discourse grows thin. It has been said again, and though I am no great logician I think I have found instances of it, that his argumentation is not always satisfying ; it lags, and then it jumps over the gap before which it has been hesitating. That, I think, is nearly all that is to be counted against him.

He held a doctrine of *style* which is perhaps not quite acceptable ; but I do not think it hurt his prose, though one might expect that it would. " Matter and expression," he declares, " are parts of one ; style is a thinking out into language." And he goes on to speak ill of what he calls a *copia verborum*. One wonders whether any man entirely an artist could commit himself to such a definition. Matthew Arnold speaks of style as a special heightening of what is said, and probably all pure literary artists would agree with him rather than with Newman. By " a special heightening " is not meant any mere ornamental addition. The really great stylists are not mere men of words, but they have not the intellectualist's contempt for words as no better than the slaves of thought. They respect the medium in which they work.

But it did Newman no harm to be something of a Philistine about style, in an age that was excessively given to style. He could thus escape the trap into which Carlyle and Ruskin flung themselves. These men, despite their moral earnestness and logical vehemence, were ever ready to throw reason and measure to the wind of eloquence. How often, seeing the splendid, well-known manner waxing upon either of them, do we say, as we do of some amiable eccentric,—ah, there he goes, at it again. Newman gained by making style his servant, not his master.

He excelled in what might be called the *unliterary* essentials of good prose. He had great knowledge, and a powerful and well-trained mind ; the gifts of ordonnance, distinction, analogy, harmony, were his. He had that *prudence* of which both the President and Mgr. Horgan have spoken with a fine understanding ; it saved him from the insularity and caprice which beset most of his contemporaries.

I think that perhaps Newman's distrust of style is to be connected with his holding of an older and broader humanism, rather than the purely literary variety that came with the Renaissance. Ruskin and Carlyle both held, at whatever remove, the narrower, literary, ideal ; the one that Bacon had attacked just when it had laid its dominance on English schools and universities, calling it a capital disease of learning, " curiosity of words."

Such gifts as I have been describing can make a man an extremely useful writer, and a very good writer. But they can hardly make him a great one. How does it come about that Newman, who was distrustful of art, and whose doctrine of style seems a denial of art, is nevertheless a great artist in words, a greater writer ? I think it was in this way.

He could be an artist even though he aimed at truth and not at beauty, because of that special mode of reasoning which he both defined and practised. Approaching it from the literary side, I think it may be illustrated by one or two parallels. One is a passage in Keats's *Letters,* where he says " I have never yet been able to perceive how anything can be known for truth by consecutive reasoning. . . . Can it be that even the greatest Philosopher ever arrived at his goal without putting aside numerous objections ? " And again, " axioms in philosophy are not axioms till they are proved on our pulses. We read fine things, but never feel them to the full until we have gone the same steps as the author." The distinction is close to Newman's in the *Grammar of Assent* between notional and real assent ; and Newman there uses an illustration, which I shall quote later on, very like Keats's. Pascal had long before, similarly, distinguished between *l'esprit de finesse* and *l'esprit de géométrie.*

Newman, far more a philosopher than Keats, had yet something of a like distaste for formal argument. He had a subtle, divining genius, which leaped beyond such trammels. In the *Grammar* he describes the *illative sense ;* not opposed to formal argumentation, it yet differs from it, being " a living, spontaneous energy within us," and proceeding on " grounds which are not fully brought out." " Clearness in argument," he declares, " is not indispensable to reasoning well." Now I think we can see how it is that this philosopher and theologian can be so much an artist. When he declares that he uses words only " to explain clearly and exactly (his) meaning," there is far less disparagement of style than there might seem to be ; because Newman's *meaning* is not that of a geometrician or abstract reasoner, but a much finer, subtler thing,

greatly dependent on the colour and accent of its expression, and on the personality of the man.

I cannot attempt to illustrate, or even speak of, the varied excellence of Newman's prose—its playful humours, its irony, its sarcasm, its occasional relentlessness in debate. But many people would agree that its finest note is a certain haunting poetry, often to be described as unearthly, the voice of one who spoke of the world and to the world from his solitary place on the brink of eternity.

May I read two passages in which that lyrical note is heard, though not at its most piercing? I choose them for that reason, as easier to fit into my slight remarks than others might be; and I also choose the first because I have alluded to it already and may do so again; and the second because it is appropriate to our present commemoration.

In the passage, from the *Grammar of Assent*, Newman is illustrating what he means by *real* as compared with merely *notional* assent; and incidentally telling us about some of the things he most cared for in literature:

> Passages, which to a boy are but rhetorical commonplaces, neither better nor worse than a hundred others which any clever writer might supply, which he gets by heart and thinks very fine, and imitates, as he thinks, successfully, in his own versification, at length come home to him, when long years have passed, and he has had experience of life, and pierce him, as if he had never known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival, or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation, for thousands of years, with a power over the mind, and a charm, which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival.

The second passage is the closing one of those University Discourses of 1852, whose centenary we are honouring. In its premonitary sadness it contrasts with the cheerful hopes expressed in the third chapter of the *University Sketches* in 1854, when the great enterprise was launched. He has spoken of the method of St. Philip Neri as the best one by which the Church can penetrate and sanctify both the world and the world of learning, and he goes on:

> Neither by my habits of life, nor by vigour of age, am I fitted for the task of authority, or of rule, or of initiation. I do but aspire, if strength is given to me, to be your minister in a work which must employ younger minds and stronger lives than mine. I am but fit to bear my witness, to proffer my suggestions, to express my sentiments, as has in fact been my occupation in these discussions; to throw such light upon general questions, upon the choice of objects, upon the import of principles, upon the tendency of measures, as past reflection and experience enable me to contribute. I shall have to make appeals to your consideration, your friendliness, your confidence, on which I so tranquilly repose; and after all, neither you nor I must ever be surprised, should it so happen that the Hand of Him, with whom are the springs of life and death,

> weighs heavy on me, and makes me unequal to anticipations in which you have been too kind, and to hopes in which I may have been too sanguine.

What a noble sadness, and how beautiful are the rhythms and cadences of the close! Newman had a wonderful gift in speaking of himself; he had modesty, of course, and good manners, but he had more than that. He did not speak of himself as other men do, always with some touch of pride; it was rather that he revealed his heart in the outflow to his hearers of his special almost angelic charity; *cor ad cor loquitur.*

I must not conclude my sketch of Newman as a writer without touching on *The Dream of Gerontius.* Prose writers who are poetical in their prose are often not so in their verse. Newman made no great claims as a poet; he called the volume of his few poems, unassumingly, *Verses.* Now poetry is the art of literature in its intensest concentration. We saw that Newman conceded little to style; and if a prose writer can do that and yet succeed, can a poet? In poetry at any rate, surely, we must have the glory of words, a glory scarcely attainable by those who despise it. In the *Dream* there is little of that glory. The thought *uses* the words rather than *lives* in them; and we might wonder, seeing that bits of it are in Latin, whether it might not all have been put into Latin without much loss. And not only is the diction bodiless and colourless, it is often positively bad. The Demons are badly handled; they speak cacophony, not, as in Dante, a poetical transposition of cacophony; from Newman, emphatically, the Devil does not get the best or even tolerable tunes. There are other startling awkwardnesses; as when Gerontius, newly entered into the other world, is told by his Guardian Angel that time there is not what it is with us, because

> every one
> Is standard of his own chronology.

But if, as we have seen, Newman is an artist in prose despite his carelessness of art, so in the *Dream* he is a poet, though in a very unusual way. Poems in general grow out of the common poetic art and diction of an age, though they rise high above it; else it is hard for them to grow at all. Hopkins, a little later, was a poetic rebel, and yet a true Victorian, his innovations being sometimes quite closely related to current convention, and at other times at least connected with it by negating it. —I can imagine that Hopkins, that lover of words, must have been embarassed by Newman's poetry, as he so highly regarded the man. —But Newman's poem, despite a few traces of Byron and Shelley, is unrooted in the age. It has really no models, it is a unique poem. No tradition could have helped it on its way, since it was to travel a region that poets in general, men of the eye and ear and the green earth, do not approach. This ascete and theologian leads us beyond the world of sense, not by suggestion and analogy, as is usually the way of mystical poets, but with a fearless independance of the common aids and as it

might seem necessities of poetry. Here is one of the finest passages of the unearthly drama ; the lately dead Gerontius speaks :

> I went to sleep ; and now I am refresh'd,
> A strange refreshment : for I feel in me
> An inexpressive lightness, and a sense
> Of freedom, as I were at length myself,
> And ne'er had been before. How still it is !
> I hear no more the busy beat of time,
> No, nor my fluttering breath, nor struggling pulse ;
> Nor does one moment differ from the next.

II. Newman and the Study of Literature

Newman was not a bookish man. I do not think that, like Robert Burton or Charles Lamb, he loved to see the firelight shining on the backs of beloved folios. He *used* books, as he used the art of writing, and he did not spare time to dally over either ; he had other concerns.

What was his reading ? In English, he knew almost nothing of the old and medieval writings. The great central region of English history and English literature, as we now see them, extends from say 1500 to 1700 ; of this he knew only the latest part, except for the great individual works of Spenser, Shakespeare, Bacon, the English Bible. He saw English literature almost as the Augustans saw it, as really beginning with Dryden, before whom there were only a few great " primitives ". In the post-Drydenian literature, and in his contemporaries, he was very well read.

I do not think that the literature of any modern continental language mattered to him ; which may seem amazing in one who was far from being an insular Briton. But there are other surprises.

Educated men a century ago were rarely English scholars ; they were amateurs in modern literature, their regular foundation was the classics. But it has been shown by Father Tristram that Newman's classical reading was extremely limited. As an undergraduate and a young don he did not read many authors ; and there is no sign that after his return from the south in 1833 he ever again seriously studied a classical book. He often speaks of Plato, and there grew up a legend that Plato was never out of his hands ; but Father Tristram shows, on Newman's evidence, that he never read Plato at all. Again, there is much talk of his having modelled his style on Cicero. In fact, we know where he got his Latin style. He wanted it in a hurry, for his Fellowship, and like a sensible man he took it ready-made. Keble in his *Praelectiones* offered a pattern of a style respectably classical but adapted to modern uses, and Newman played the sedulous ape to Keble, not to Cicero.

Yet this man of limited reading gives us the impression of being steeped in literature, and it is no false impression ; his mind and style *were* nourished by the best that has been thought and said. How did it come

about? Very powerful minds can absorb and retain what will be useful to them with what, to the rest of us, must seem a miraculous economy. They do not labour through books as we do, they ought to be ignorant men, yet they know far more than greater readers do. A glance through a book, a casual conversation with a learned man, and they have taken in what is essential. Newman surely absorbed much of his classicism from tradition, out of the air of his Oxford ; he could be Attic because his mother university had a real claim to style herself *Athenae Oxonienses*.

Newman was not a man who had a sentimental or *dilettante* interest in literature ; nor was his interest in it primarily aesthetic. He looked upon it as a philosopher, one who looks on the whole scheme of creation, and sees each thing in its own place and nature, and in its true relation to other things. He can *define* literature better than literary men, who are inside it and cannot see the wood for the trees. In the last of the 1852 Discourses he gives a wonderfully broad and satisfying account of Literature. " Literature stands related to Man as Science stands to Nature ; it is his history." " Literature is to man in some sort what autobiography is to the individual ; it is his Life and Remains." " Man is a being of genius, passion, intellect, conscience, power. He exercises these various gifts in various ways, in great deeds, in great thoughts, in heroic acts, in hateful crimes. He founds states, he fights battles, he builds cities, he ploughs the forest, he subdues the elements, he rules his kind. He creates vast ideas, and influences many generations. He takes a thousand shapes, and undergoes a thousand fortunes. Literature records them all to the life." Newman does not limit literature to the purely imaginative, poetry, drama and prose fiction. He tells us how history and philosophy also can come to be literature ; when they are so *realized* and felt on the pulses of a writer that they take on a personal colouring and memorable expression. And whenever he speaks of the *study* of literature he includes such writers as well as poets.

In the 1852 Discourses, Newman is considering literature as the voice of the natural man or of man fallen and corrupt, as something either indifferent or hostile to Christianity. He is saying all that can be said against literature. Yet his conclusion is that literature must still be studied in the university, since the university is to prepare its students for the *world,* of which literature is the mirror. And in this Discourse, when he has told us that we must expect to find in literature the corruptions of the world, he adds the observation that great books have about them something large and sane that cleanses their incidental corruptions.

That is one of the ways in which Newman sees literature—as the expression of man on his natural level, or fallen below it. But much more often he sees it in another and more optimistic way—as the expression of man's striving to rise. Literature is the great instrument of man's endeavour to lift himself above brutality or barbarism, to a finer humanity.

The great writers are humanity's prophets and pioneers. Their works, the classics, then become the instruments of liberal education, and serve " to strengthen, refine, and enrich the intellectual powers " of many. Newman well knew that a finer humanity was not man's ultimate goal ; that it might be made a substitute for religion, and persuade men to seek no higher ; that indeed liberal culture could exist as a thin veneer over brutality and barbarism. But he thought that more often man's two upward urges are allied, and help each other, and that God intended it so.

The remarkable paper entitled *Literature*, delivered as an inaugural lecture to the Faculty of Arts in November 1854, discovers many parallels and connections between the development of civilization—of which literature is the root as well as the flower—and the development of Christianity.

Newman here views the past in a large but simple scheme. All early history, and the whole history of most parts of the world, is fluctuation, agitation, with no real progress. But three thousand years ago, in the Mediterranean area, we witness a formation amid the chaos. We see the beginning of what is so much greater and more permanent than other attempts at society and civilization that we may call it simply " Human Society " and " Civilization." Another unique thing began within the same area—Christianity. Both early acquired or produced the *books* that have since ruled each of them—the sacred writings, and the classics.

Rome, he goes on, was no more called on to initiate in literature than later ages of Christianity to produce a new Bible. The Latins accepted " the law on which the world's education was to be carried on, (and) so added to the classical library, as not to reverse or interfere with what had already been determined." But they produced the classics, modelled on those of Greece, which were to be even more important in the actual process of education over the centuries ; *these* have always been indispensable, while men might have the Greek writers either *with* them or *through* them. Newman, I may say at this point, outlines an evolutionary process in the literature of Europe which perhaps offers a parallel to his theory of the Development of Christian Doctrine. Poetry, at the start in Greece, contained germinally the other forms of literature. From it sprung rhetoric and history. Then were organized the seven Liberal Arts. So that there was no break, though there was a long evolution, from Homer to the medieval university.

I return for a moment to his parallel of Christianity and European literature. " Jerusalem," he says, " is the fountain-head of religious knowledge, as Athens is of secular." At first these two centres of illumination gave no promise of converging. But in Rome they were united, and to separate them again would be to retrograde. " Sacred learning and profane," he concludes, " are dependent on each other,

correlative and mutually complementary . . . faith operates by means of reason, and reason is directed and corrected by faith."

You see how in that paper Newman almost *consecrates* literature. But he was doing nothing new ; he was reaffirming the tradition of Christian humanism. Dante could mingle the old pagan myths and names with Christian names ; they belonged to literature, and therefore there was something elevated, something sacred about them. Spenser could do the like, and in a single stanza speak of the Hill of the Muses and the Mount of Olives. Even so late a poet as Pope could describe the poet's function as priestly, and say of his instrument of verse

> O sacred weapon, left for truth's defence . . .
> To all but Heav'n-directed hands denied,
> The Muse may give thee, but the Gods must guide.

You see again that Newman does not think of literature as a thing that can be produced, or produced at its best, at all times and in all places. The artistic gift may be universal, but it takes more than the artistic gift to produce literary masterpieces. Literature to him is a single great tradition, accompanying the steps of European civilization. Each major step is the occasion of new works of literature ; and then is the moment when the artistic gift has its opportunity.

There is a case for the purely aesthetic approach to literature, which regards all specimens of art as essentially equal, whether barbaric, civilized, or decadent. Perhaps Newman does too little justice to that view. I am afraid he was hardly capable of appreciating the great *queer* writers, who are not clear thinkers—Donne, Blake, Hopkins. He could not have sympathized with modern conceptions of *poésie pure*, of a poem as an image, or a form of words, without intellectual content. But there is no doubt about one or two things. First, that the older view, which was his, of literature as the deposit of civilization, and as a study closely connected with that of history, has much to be said for it. Again, it is clear that this way of treating literature fits more easily than the other into a university. Any educated man can approach literature from that side. But the aesthetic approach expects all who study literature to be poets or writers, actual or future. Things have gone so far in this direction that to-day one hears that nobody but a poet has any right to critical opinions ; and one hears professors of literature being asked to apologize for themselves, or actually apologizing for themselves, because they are not poets.

Let us follow Newman now to modern literature and in particular, English literature. Considering the time at which he wrote, he is remarkable for the justice of his views. He never looked on modern literature with contempt, or thought that the study of English must be, in the famous words of an Oxford don in 1887, merely " chatter about

Shelley." He set up a chair of English when there were none in these islands except in Scotland and at King's College, London ; and appointed to it Thomas Arnold—who by the way wrote what became a model for all subsequent manuals of the History of English Literature.

In the literatures of the great modern kingdoms or nations, Newman saw the continuation of the Graeco-Roman tradition, in a further development, absorbing new elements and materials. And as each modern kingdom has its rise and its wane, so its language and literature rise to their classical form and then enter on their silver age and their decay.

Mr. T. S. Eliot interested us greatly a few years ago by his lecture *What is a Classic ?* Some of the ideas were originally Newman's. This brings one to Newman's lecture on English Literature, and the possibility of a Catholic literature in English. He tells us what may be expected, and what may not. English literature has long since had its classics ; to supersede them you must supersede the race and the language—and then they will be English no more. But, he says in a side-glance, Catholics of the English language would not mend matters by changing literatures with the French, Italians, or Germans. Protestant English literature is neither atheistical nor immoral, and its greatest writer has so little of the Protestant about him that Catholics have been able, not unreasonably, to claim him as their own. Newman discourages the dream of Catholic English classics yet to come. Classical authors belong to a particular age of a nation's life, and that age he believed to have gone by for England. A classic author's greatness and uniqueness are achieved by his doing with a language something that was not possible at all before his time ; but which, once he has done it, becomes too easy ever again to call forth a like supreme and an equally fruitful exertion. Then comes the Silver Age, when merely *good* writing abounds ; but originality can be attained only by the resort to singularity.

This opinion of Newman's has perhaps a lesson for us in the universities of today. There are teachers of English nowadays who find that their Greekless and Latinless pupils cannot make much of the older English literature, with its classical basis and allusions. They are tempted to give it up, and base their courses mainly on the nineteenth century. To them I think Newman would say, you are not teaching your subject at all, you are starting it just at the point where *it* began to stop.

I must not leave my subject without touching on Newman's greatest love in literature—for though in general he was detached from strong literary affections, and preferred to be friendly rather than intimate with the poets, there was one to whom his heart was given. He quotes and echoes Virgil again and again, more than any other author. In this preference, of course, Newman only followed, as in other things, the tradition of Christian culture ; Virgil had been the preeminent poet for many of the deepest and finest minds from Dante to Edmund

Burke—Virgil, who had stood at the greatest turning-point of history, and who seemed to know it profoundly while knowing it not.

Newman thinks of Virgil as such predecessors had thought of him, and yet in a new way also. We must not forget that Newman was a *romantic*. He was born less than ten years later than Shelley and Keats, and he shared fifty of Wordsworth's years of life. Despite his theological and philosophical preoccupations, he had to the full the romantic shrinking from the " meddling intellect." He preferred synthesis to analysis ; he loved solitude, quiet, simplicity, the sense of wholeness and harmony that are felt in the natural scene and derived from the repose of nature. But of course he could not find satisfaction in a pantheistic nature-worship. Two things offered the image of what he desired, the Benedictine life of the early centuries, and the pastoral poetry of that Virgil whose Arcadia was almost a Sabbath. These two things, Newman strives most winningly to persuade us, are almost one. The Benedictine papers in the *Historical Sketches* contain a sentence of great beauty and insight, in which he describes the monastic life—a sentence which concludes, " such a life may be called emphatically Virgilian." " Romantic " he names it, again. He holds that a certain attitude of humility and reverence underlies both true poetry and the Benedictine life. Poetry does not try, as reason and science do, to *master* things. " It demands, as its primary condition, that we should not put ourselves above the objects in which it resides, but at their feet ; that we should feel them to be above and beyond us." That may not be a sufficient account of all poetry ; but it is a true account of what was religious and Christian in the poetry of the romantic age.

I may conclude by saying that few have ever put more truly the claims of literature than Newman, or set them higher ; that he did this in an age when literature was suffering not only from the encroachment of other interests but also from a certain misunderstanding of itself, and required both to be defended and reminded of its true nature ; and lastly that when he urged the importance of literature he was constantly thinking of its place in the university, and that he taught us, teachers of literature, valuable lessons as to what to do with it. But I shall let him speak last himself :

> If by means of words the secrets of the heart are brought to light, pain of soul is relieved, hidden grief is carried off, sympathy conveyed, counsel imparted, experience recorded, and wisdom perpetuated,—if by great authors the many are drawn up into unity, national character is fixed, a people speaks, the past and the future, the East and the West are brought into communication with each other,—if such men are . . . the spokesmen and prophets of the human family—it will not answer to make light of literature.

J. J. Hogan

Newman and Science

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IT is my task to examine Newman's view on science and its place in university education, particularly in relation to modern thought on the subject. The theme is complex and to simplify it I propose to treat it under the three heads of pure science, scientific research and applied science.

It is not generally realized how much importance Newman attached to the teaching of science in a university.[1] In a report he submitted to the Catholic University Committee after his first visit to Ireland in October 1851, some months before his discourses were delivered, he recommended that the proposed university should consist of four Faculties : Arts, divided into Letters and Science, Medicine, Law and Theology. The division of Science, which later became a Faculty, was to include subjects such as Logic and Metaphysics not now regarded as falling within the ambit of a Faculty of Science. However, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history and geology were to be taught, and provision was to be made for a School of Engineering. The professors in the Faculty of Science were to point out that religion is the basis of science.

It can be seen from this report that it is incorrect to suggest that because Newman in his discourses argued against professional or scientific knowledge as the sufficient aim of university education, he implied therefore that a university should not teach science or professional subjects. Indeed, though he did not succeed in developing a successful school of science, his medical school was the most permanent of the institutions connected with the Catholic University.

Among those who taught in that school were W. K. Sullivan, Professor of Chemistry and later Dean of the Faculty of Science (See STUDIES, 1945, March, 21), and Henry Hennessy, F.R.S., both scientists of distinction. Sullivan was a Young Irelander appointed by Newman in 1856 against the wishes of Dr. Cullen, who was nervous of rebels. Sullivan became one of Newman's trusted advisers and Newman supported Sullivan's large and bold views. In 1858 a report from the Faculty of Science urged the immediate establishment of chairs of Botany and Zoology and of Geology and Mineralogy, and the expenditure on laboratories of £20,000. This report was strongly supported by Newman

[1] Professor Joseph Doyle has kindly drawn my attention to Father Henry Tristram's Introduction to his selection from Newman's works. (*The Idea of a Liberal Education*, Harrap, London, 1952.) This shows that Newman read Newton's *Principia* (section I–III) and Hydrostatics, Astronomy and Optics for his degree, and that he attended lectures in Mineralogy and Geology. He had while at College a definite interest in science.

in a letter forwarding it to the Bishops. He stated his full concurrence with these recommendations and added that persons of the highest consideration in Rome had urged upon him the duty of furthering to the best of his power the interests of physical science. He had already mentioned this to their Lordships in 1856.

As this letter shows, the development of a good school of science was one of Newman's foremost objects. He also thought of establishing an astronomical or meteorological observatory and a school of applied science. But though many of his schemes failed to materialize, he fitted up in the medical school in 1856 a well-equipped chemistry laboratory. This laboratory provided facilities for three classes of students ; those engaged in purely scientific studies, those who required a knowledge of chemistry for practical purposes, and medical students. Sullivan remained as Professor of Chemistry until 1873 when he became President of Queen's College, Cork. He was succeeded by Dr. John Campbell who, in turn, was followed by Professor Hugh Ryan in 1899. Professor Ryan became first Professor of Chemistry in our own College, so that in Chemistry there is an unbroken chain of succession from Sullivan to the present day. The chain for physics, then called natural philosophy, is similarly complete.

Although Newman regarded the teaching of science and professional subjects as a duty of a University, nevertheless he considered the development of the mind the primary end of University education. His object was to form, particularly in his junior students, a cultivated intellect on which other knowledge could be grafted. In his eighth discourse he writes that

> general culture of the mind is the best aid to professional and scientific study, and educated men can do what illiterate cannot ; and the man who has learned to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyse, who has refined his taste and formed his judgment, and sharpened his mental vision, will not indeed be at once a lawyer, or a pleader, or an orator, or a statesman, or a physician, or a good landlord, or a man of business, or a soldier, or an engineer, or a chemist, or a geologist, or an antiquarian, but he will be placed in that state of intellect in which he can take up any one of the sciences or callings I have referred to or any other, with an ease, a grace, a versatility and success to which another is a stranger.

It will give point to the discussion if, at this stage, we pause and examine Newman's educational scheme, by which he sought to develop his undergraduates' mentality, before they undertook scientific or professional studies. Students came to his college at sixteen and spent two years studying cultural subjects for the initial degree of Scholar. The subjects of examination for this primary degree were : religious knowledge ; latin ; greek or a modern language ; and one subject

from the group ; philosophy, criticism, geography, chronology, mathematics, logic or a physical science. Students were encouraged to choose from the list of options, subjects of value to them in their further studies. Newman, though he drafted this initial course to give a liberal education to all his undergraduates, was anxious to permit such degree of specialization as would not frustrate his primary purpose.

After two years of liberal education, students who so desired could enter on Arts, Science or Professional courses. It should be emphasized that this elementary course was based on Newman's firm belief that the first step in intellectual training must be to impress upon a student's mind the idea of science, method, order, principle and system ; of rule and exception, of richness and harmony. He thought that this could well be done by teaching grammar and mathematics to give a conception of development and arrangement from and around a common centre. To quote his words

> Let him (the student) once gain this habit of method, of starting from fixed points, of making his ground good as he goes, of distinguishing what he knows from what he does not know, and . . . he will gradually be initiated into the largest and truest philosophical views.

Although physical science was an optional subject in his preliminary course, Newman does not seem to have observed that much of what he desired to achieve could have been accomplished by a training in science. A science student, if properly taught, should acquire some of the important values on which Newman laid stress ; tolerance of the views of others and logical, independent and precise habits of thought. No one could claim, however, that the study of science alone is adequate to effect Newman's aims.

In discussing his preliminary cultural course, we must recall that students entered his university at sixteen. It is not known why he fixed so early an age of entrance unless it be that Irish boys then left the secondary school at that age. Be that as it may, it is clear that the first two years of liberal education in the Catholic University correspond to some extent to the last two years at our own secondary schools. I do not know if Newman, were he alive to-day, would regard the last two years at our secondary schools as a substitute for his preliminary course. But it would appear that the modern idea which throws on the last years at school the burden of the basic education of science students is not altogether remote from Newman's views. In making this statement, however, we must not overlook the different atmospheres which prevail in a university and in a school, or that Newman's student in a college provided he were sufficiently mature, would have an advantage over a modern student at school.

Newman, however, did not consider that liberal education should cease when the university student entered a professional school or a school of science. He regarded it as essential that all subjects should be taught as a discipline, the emphasis being on principles rather than on facts ; on *why* rather than on *how* an operation is performed. A subject such as medicine or geology was to be treated with a freedom and a resource belonging not only to the study itself but to the liberal education of the professor who taught it. Training in professional knowledge was secondary to the general training of the intellect. The intellect must never be formed or sacrificed to some specific trade or profession or study of science. It must be disciplined for its own sake, and for the perception of its own proper object, and for its own highest culture. To set forth the right standard and to train according to it, and to help forward all students towards it according to their various capacities ; this Newman considered to be the business of a university.

As he himself admitted, educationists of distinction had insisted that education should be confined to some particular and narrow end, and should issue in some definite work, which could be weighed and measured. He cites the famous Locke, who strongly favoured utility in education, and quotes, among others, the following passage from Locke's work on Education :

> Can there be anything more ridiculous than that a father should waste his own money, and his son's time, in setting him to *learn the Roman language,* when at the same time, *he designs him for a trade,* wherein he, having no use of Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from school, and which 'tis ten to one he abhors for the ill-usage it procured him ? Could it be believed, unless we have everywhere amongst us examples of it, that a child should be forced to learn the rudiments of a language, which *he is never to use in the course of life that he is designed to,* and neglect all the while the writing of a good hand, and casting of accounts, which are of great advantage in all conditions of life, and to most trades indispensably necessary ?

On this quotation Newman comments :

> Nothing, of course, can be more absurd than to neglect in education those matters which are necessary for a boy's future calling ; but the tone of Locke's remarks evidently implies more than this, and is condemnatory of any teaching which tends to the general cultivation of the mind, as distinct from the professional.

The famous Irish chemist, Sir Robert Kane (See STUDIES, 1944, June, 158 ; September, 316), was somewhat of the Locke school, and in his classical work on the " Industrial Resources of Ireland ", published in 1843, wrote :

> Should an ambitous parent desire to give his son a good education, although he is to be in trade, he puts him through college. He devotes

> the best years of his youth to reading Grecian poetry and Latin plays ; to learning by rote the dialectics of the middle ages, and principles of abstract metaphysics, and awakens, after the solemnity of getting his degree, to find that he is to obtain his living by principles and pursuits to which his education has had no reference whatsoever. He finds that the safety of his property may depend on the navigation of a sea, of which he has never heard whilst labouring for months to understand the geography of the Odyssey ; that the mode of growth or the chemical composition of a plant, of whose existence neither Greek nor Roman knew, may be the means of gaining or of losing fortune, and of it he has been left in ignorance ; that his daily commercial intercourse is with men and nations, of whose languages and whose customs he is totally ignorant, while he has spent his youth in learning how he should have spoken had he lived three thousand years ago.

To arguments of this type Newman replied that it is only the mind trained and developed by a liberal culture that can profitably absorb and utilize knowledge of all kinds. The university is not content with forming the critic or the chemist, the economist or the engineer, though such it includes within its scope ; it, must, when teaching science, teach something more than science. It imparts versatility and flexibility of mind. It shows a man how to accommodate himself to others, how to influence them, in other words, how to administer. It fits him, as Milton said " to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." And I cannot forbear from quoting that noble passage with which Newman concludes his discourse on this subject, one which shows his mastery of the art of clear and full exposition. Of a man trained as he planned, he said :

> He is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class ; he knows when to speak and when to be silent ; he is able to converse, he is able to listen ; he can ask a question pertinently, and gain a lesson seasonably, when he has nothing to impart himself ; he is ever ready, yet never in the way ; he is a pleasant companion and a comrade you can depend upon ; he knows when to be serious and when to trifle, and he has a sure tact which enables him to trifle with gracefulness and to be serious with effect. He has the repose of mind, which lives in itself, while it lives in the world, and which has resources for its happiness at home when it cannot go abroad. He has a gift which serves him in public, and supports him in retirement, without which good fortune is but vulgar, and with which failure and disappointment have a charm. The art which tends to make a man all this, is in its idea as useful as the art of wealth or the art of health, though it is less susceptible of method, and less tangible, less certain, less complete, in its result.

It was said of Burke that if you sheltered with him from a passing shower, you would know when he left that he was a great man ; one has the same feeling about Newman when one reads even a short passage of this kind.

I must here enter a *caveat* against pressing Newman's views too far. Possibly owing to his influence, there prevails in this country and in Britain the view that a liberally educated man can control everything ; a view that has flowered, perhaps, in its greatest exuberance in the Civil Service. The administrator who takes a decision on a scientific or technical matter, need know nothing of the subject ; he listens to the expert, who is incapable of being unbiased, and then automatically winnowing the true from the false, pronounces judgment. When Sir Robert Kane persuaded the Government of the day to set up the Royal College of Science in Dublin in 1867, it was thought, naturally, that he would be the first Director. Not so the Civil Service. On February 21, 1867, the Secretary of the Department of Science and Art wrote to Kane to say that it was regretted that there was no appointment on the staff of the new college that could be offered to one of his eminence. It was felt that some layman of administrative capacity and sufficient distinction to carry weight, but unbiased by any special scientific predilections would be the proper head of the new scientific institution. This trust in the impartiality of ignorance, this theory of the supremacy of the blank mind, this belief that he who drives fat oxen need not himself be fat, may have had some force a century ago, but in our present era of technical complexity, it has ceased to have validity. And, as I have indicated, I am not certain that Newman did not hold similar views, heretical to a scientist.

On the other hand we have to face the dangers which arise from over-specialization. Since Newman wrote, science has developed at a terrifying rate. About a million scientific papers are published each year and the scientist is overwhelmed in a flood of knowledge. As a result there is more and more pressure of material for inclusion in a University course, and an increasing tendency to specialization. In Britain, for example, many honours schools of chemistry hesitate to admit a student who has not studied chemistry at school to our second science standard. It is not unusual to require specialization in a definite branch of chemistry in the final honours year. Accordingly, the viewpoint of the average science graduate is narrow ; neither at school nor at the university does he receive the liberal training which Newman regarded as fundamental. There is an increasing complaint that scientists know more and more about less and less ; they can express themselves neither by mouth nor by pen ; they are incapable of handling men for they see all things as black or white, never as grey. To the public apart from his scientific knowledge the scientist is a figure of fun, sneered at because he has none of the qualities which Newman listed as pertaining to an educated man.

The disease is more apparent than the remedy. There is general agreement that excessive specialization in science should be discouraged in schools, and that there should be some return to Newman's idea

of a liberal education. The Chemistry Education Advisory Board of the Royal Institute of Chemistry in a report published in 1944 wrote :

> We strongly support, moreover, the many criticisms which have during many years been put forward, of the too narrow and too intensive specialisation in the post-school certificate course. In our opinion, some means must be found for giving to students of chemistry, as of other branches of science, a wider basis of general culture on which to build their intellectual life . . . at least one-third of the school time should be allotted to the study of English, languages, history or other subjects of general culture. In the case of English, attention should be paid to literature rather than to language, and emphasis should be laid on cultivating the power of lucid expression. Teachers of science, also, should ensure that this matter is not neglected during the periods devoted to instruction in science, for example, by prescribing essays on scientific subjects.

It is significant of how far the pendulum has swung in Britain, that an allocation of only one-third of school time to cultural subjects has to be recommended as sufficient for science students still at school.

The Committee suggested that in university scholarship examinations, subjects of general culture must not only be included in the curriculum of the science specialist, but must be given due weight in the examinations. The Committee considered that exemption from attendance at the first year course at the university is undesirable ; this is in accordance with our own practice in University College. I should add that advice to limit the time spent in the study of science is, normally, not required by Irish schools.

While a better training in general culture in schools would undoubtedly improve the University product, the cure within the university itself is not obvious. It is clear that the science student should have time not only to read and think about his specialist studies, but also to mix with men studying subjects other than his own, so as to broaden his general intellectual interests and enlarge his outlook. But, owing to the necessity for laboratory work, time-table requirements are especially onerous for students of science. The position in our Irish Departments of Science is particularly difficult, for many students who enter them know nothing about science. Elementary facts such as the difference between an element and a compound, which should form part of the fundamental knowledge of any youth supposed to be educated, must be taught across the lecture table, though fundamental ideas of this kind are better imparted and discussed under school conditions. Newman himself stressed the necessity for a Professor taking for granted that his students have some general knowledge of the subject. Real professional instruction, he thought, was in most cases simply thrown away upon students who from lack of familiarity with the first elements of knowledge of a subject,

cannot understand or appreciate or appropriate the lectures of highly educated men. As Professor Felix Hackett well said in a memorandum to the Senate of the National University written in 1943 "What a handicap the Irish Secondary Schools . . . impose on the Faculties of Science of the Irish Universities. . . . How difficult it is for Irish Universities to give Irish science graduates a training and an education to equip them to face confidently and successfully the international rivalry of science".

It must be remembered that the non-clerical students who come to our Departments of Science do so mainly because they wish to be trained to earn a living. To do that they must be brought, as Professor Hackett indicates, to a certain international professional standard. They must learn some of the factual content of science so that they can understand the principles flowing from those facts. They must also be taught to observe, to carry out certain manipulations, and above all, they must learn to think scientifically, to assess evidence and to form a judgment. This takes time, and the less the student knows when he enters the university, the longer it takes. On the other hand, economic pressure limits the time the parents of a student can afford to keep him at College. These are hard facts which have to be faced in a spirit of realism. I know that the university teacher must treat his subject as a discipline, rather than train his students to earn a livelihood. But he must also have regard, as Newman indicated, to the professional needs of his students. Otherwise he might have no students, by no means an undesirable result, were it not for the financial consequences involved. Many a teacher sighs for the vacation when he can devote himself to research and deal with inanimate things which respond so much more readily to attention than do students.

But, and now we are at the kernel of the problem, how is this synthesis of principles and facts, this combination of teaching for culture and for livelihood to be achieved in the time available? How, further, is the teacher to choose from the flood of knowledge in which he is swamped, the minute fraction which the student can hope to assimilate during the few years at College? Like many human problems this is one to which there is no certain answer; nor is it easy to assess the value of any particular approach. There are fashions in teaching as in baby-feeding; one generation is fed rigidly by rule, the next receives the benefits of the self-demand system. And just as the adaptability of infants makes it difficult to appraise the various systems of feedings, so with a variety of methods of teaching science, the good students do well, the weak students do badly, and the mediocre come in between. It takes time and experience to sort the results.

Nor is it easy to obtain practical advice. The science teacher can read Newman, he can read commentators on Newman, he can consult

the Faculty of Arts. One and all will tell him that he must implant in the student a love of learning, that he must teach principles rather than facts ; that he must not have too much regard to the posts eventually to be filled by the students. The Goodenough Report on Medical Education states not unobviously, that " The aim of undergraduate medical education must be to guide medical students to such development of mind and character as will enable them when qualified to give maximum service to the community ". This is almost a paraphrase of Newman. Statements of admirable objects are always admirable, but they have a stone-like quality for those who seek the bread or rather the brass tacks of what and how a science student should be taught. There is much argument but the harassed teacher ever enters and leaves by the same door.

Christopher Fry has written :

> But you, dear boy, with your twenty-five impartial years,
> Can perform the judgement of Paris,
> Can savour, consider, and award the apple
> With a cool hand. You will find an apple
> Over there by the spectroscope.

The difficulty is to ensure that the apple of appreciation is beside the spectroscope or on the chemistry bench, and, if it be available, to be certain that the scientific worker can rightly bestow it.

And now I think after this digression we can sum up Newman's attitude towards the teaching of science in a university. He felt that it should be taught there, but only to students who had received a basic liberal education. He believed in the need for stressing principles, and rejected the criterion that utility should be the basis of what is taught. He favoured the broad outlook rather than specialization. He did not seek to train students to *be* professional practitioners, but rather to educate them so that they would eventually *become* professional men of full stature. But although he showed the goal, he did not clearly indicate how it should be reached ; I suppose one could not expect him to do this since he was not a scientist. We have seen too that there has been a drift from his ideas, so that it is now universally admitted that the present scientist is too specialized and lacks the broad culture which Newman regarded as the hall-mark of an educated man. On the other hand the importance of some knowledge of science for " them " who rule " us " is not yet sufficiently appreciated. Our administrators are narrow in another sense.

You will remember that at the beginning of this lecture, I said I would treat the subject under the three headings of pure science, scientific research and applied science. Accordingly, I turn now to the discussion of Newman's views on the part to be played by a university in the advancement of knowledge by the prosecution of research. At first sight his

attitude seems to be clear. In the preface to his discourses he writes that the view he takes of a university in these discourses is that it is a place of *teaching* universal *knowledge*, and he underlines teaching and knowledge. The object of a university is, on the one hand, intellectual, not moral ; and, on the other, the diffusion and extension of knowledge, rather than the advancement. " If its object " he writes " were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a University should have students ; if religious training, I do not see how it can be the seat of philosophy and science ". Newman thought that there were other institutions, such as Academies, far more suited than a university to act as instruments of stimulating philosophical inquiry, and extending the boundaries of knowledge. He goes on :

> The nature of the case and the history of philosophy combine to recommend to us the division of intellectual labour between Academies and Universities. To discover and to teach are distinct functions ; they are also distinct gifts, and are not commonly found united in the same person. He too who spends his day in dispensing his existing knowledge to all comers, is unlikely to have either leisure or energy to acquire new. The common sense of mankind has associated the search after truth with seclusion and quiet. The greatest thinkers have been too intent on their subject to admit of interruption ; they have been men of absent minds and idiosyncratic habits, and have, more or less, shunned the lecture room and the public school . . . while teaching involves external engagements, the natural home for experiment and speculation is retirement.

In Newman's view the great object of a university is to make something or other of its students and not simply to protect the interests and advance the dominion of science. The student should acquire in a university, force, steadiness, comprehensiveness and flexibility of intellect, command over his own powers, the instinctive just estimate of things as they pass before him ; he is not there to make discoveries or to assist his professor to do so. Newman's emphasis on teaching is shown by his statement of professional duties. He writes :

> A professor is not to be overburdened with lectures—oh happy rule—that he may have time for the steady pursuit and thorough mastery of the department of science or learning, which he has undertaken. His main office is to expound and illustrate it ; to deepen its principles and to enlarge its stores ; and to erect what may be called a real objective image of it, such as may have value in itself, as distinct from the accidents of the day. He is not bound by duty, though he may be advantageously induced by circumstances, to adapt himself to his particular hearers, and to bring down his teaching to their capacity ; on the other hand, they are required to prepare themselves for what may be at first above them, and to raise themselves towards the level of his views and the standard of his intellect. His lectures are emphatically public, and his hearers take part in his publicity. They are called on to construe, translate,

and answer questions before their companions, and with a sort of emulation one against another. They are, from exercises of this nature, to gain habits of self-possession, presence of mind, quickness, clearness, and accuracy of thought, power of grasping ideas, and steadiness of contemplation ; and they are to be formed one and all upon one model by the intellectual excitement and mutual sympathy which his teaching elicits.

Nor are his duties confined to the lecture hall ; in this day, especially, he may be quite as usefully employed with the pen as with the tongue ; and if there is one *desideratum* greater than another just now, which may employ him, it is that of text-books in literature and science for the use of students, written on a Catholic basis and with a scrupulous avoidance of all matter of a vicious and immoral tendency.

Apart from the absence of any definite reference to research work as such, it will be noted that Newman visualized lectures conducted on a tutorial system, and in a less formal manner than now obtains. His view that a professor is not bound by duty to adapt himself to his hearers, must appeal to those who have to teach the elements of a subject to a first-year class. As I have indicated above, many would sympathise with the view implied by Newman that no university teacher should be required to lecture on a subject to students who are completely ignorant of its elements. It is not stimulating after a first-year lecture on chemistry to have a student, dare I whisper, a woman student, come up to the lecture bench and enquire coyly the difference between positive and negative.

The modern estimate of the place of research in a university department of science is completely at variance with that of Newman. Discovery is regarded as more important than teaching, and the standing of a science department is determined by the quality of the research work it produces rather than by the quality of its teaching. The plums in the academic profession go to the research worker ; the good teacher seldom reaches the top. The Head of a large Department of Science has usually little contact with the undergraduate students. This devotion to research has militated against progress in teaching, with the result that courses, particularly elementary courses, change but slowly and are often out of date. The Americans are ahead of us on this side of the Atlantic in their views on the teaching of chemistry ; I cannot speak for the other subjects. They rate highly a good university teacher, and they approach the subject of imparting chemical knowledge in a progressive and experimental manner. One of their greatest research workers, Linus Pauling, has written a textbook on elementary chemistry in which an attempt is made to feed back modern knowledge to the first-year student. If we make a fetish of research it must be to the detriment of the students we seek to teach. " You cannot sell chemistry

as a teacher unless you are sold on teaching "—I quote from an American article—and few modern professors of chemistry are sold on teaching.

I have stressed the emphasis on research as compared with teaching in a modern university department of science. In the Arts Faculty the stress, I am told, is the other way. Dr. A. L. Goodhart, Master of University College, Oxford, stated, in a recent lecture : " to my mind a university is primarily and always a teaching institution. In every university that is worthy of the name we find, of course, that research work of the greatest importance is being done ; but this is not its essential purpose. It is true that the teacher who does no research work of his own will probably be of less value than one who is making an original contribution to knowledge ; but the university teacher ought to be a teacher in the first place and only secondarily a researcher ". On the other hand in his well-known book *Red Brick University* the late Professor Alison Peers puts the Science Faculty view when he stresses the fact that a university has two chief duties, the advancement and dissemination of knowledge. To him the primary purpose of a university is research ; a purely teaching university is almost a contradiction in terms, but a research institute can certainly be a university. To use his own words : " There could perfectly well be a university which, like All Souls' College, Oxford, had no undergraduates at all ; and, instead of teaching, replenished its ranks by the choice of scholars who had been taught elsewhere, devoting itself entirely and exclusively to the pursuit of knowledge. But there could never be a university which had no researchers at all and which engaged in nothing but teaching. A secondary school can never be a university, though in its highest form given scholarly teachers, there can be much of the university spirit. A university without research would be nothing but a super-secondary school ". Peers considers it at least as culpable for a university teacher to neglect research as to neglect teaching ; as reprehensible to reach the end of a session without having put in a year's honest research as to have constantly failed to make an appearance in the lecture room.

And he emphasises the modern view of the primacy of research when he says that a university has two aims : first " research—patient and unremitting—including the cultivation of the spirit of research in even the youngest " ; and second and only second " teaching—systematic and methodical, but also rich, stimulating and thought-provoking, so much so that again and again one finds the two aims merging and becoming temporarily indistinguishable the one from the other. Ruling and dominating each of these activities is the formation . . . of character ". The discipline of research is as much more beneficent than the discipline of teaching as research itself is a nobler activity than teaching and learning. Those who have " embraced university work as a vocation, will continue their pursuit of knowledge as long as

their powers allow. Compulsory superannuation may free them from their teaching duties and from the contractual obligation to engage in research, but they can no more regard their vocation as having ceased than can an aged monk or a retired priest or doctor ".

The authorities who in 1911 drafted Statute I of University College, Dublin placed the claims of teaching above those of research. Professors and Lecturers are required to give instruction to their students, to assist them in the pursuit of knowledge, and contribute to its advancement. But it is specifically stated that " Every Full-Time Professor shall, so far as is compatible with the other duties of his Chair, devote himself to research and the advancement of knowledge ". It will be noted that here research comes after all other professorial duties, and that Lecturers are not specifically required to devote themselves to research. The 1951 University Statute is similar in terms except that it also applies to Lecturers.

It would appear, however, that Newman modified his early views and fostered research in his university. In his report to the Bishops for the session 1854–1855, he mentioned that he had already recommended professors and lecturers to their Lordships for appointment in various departments of science and research. He also stated that he hoped to have a University Press which would print scientific registers and literary works. Three works were ready for publication, one on Irish Antiquities, one on a subject connected with the literature of Poetry, and one on an investigation in the department of Mathematical Physics. In a memorandum read at a Meeting of the Bishops held in May 1854, he stressed the necessity for founding institutions within the university of value intrinsically, whether students were present or not. I have already mentioned his desire to found an observatory, and will deal later with his anxiety to establish an institute of applied science. I may here recall that he sought also to develop an archaeological department employing itself principally on the language, remains and MSS. of ancient Ireland. His famous Professor of Archaeology and Irish History, Eugene O'Curry, rendered incalculable service to Irish scholarship by his transcripts and translations of manuscripts. Newman wrote with reference to these plans " Astronomical observers, professors of medical science, the decipherers and editors of ancient writings, chemists and geologists, would in various ways subserve the social interests of Ireland, even though their lecture-rooms at first were but partially filled." Again in his report for the session 1856–1857 he refers to the possibility of chemico-physiological investigations being carried out in the chemistry laboratory. He also mentions the foundation of the publication *Atlantis* to record the results of investigations in literature and science carried out by the professors. The list of subjects on which papers were promised by the Professors when the journal was founded shows that research in a number of fields was being carried on in 1857 by Newman's staff. Sullivan,

for example, was working on the products obtained by the destructive distillation of peat, and titles from the fields of history, physics, medicine, geology and architecture figure in the list. Father Fergal McGrath in his classical study of Newman's University draws attention in this connection to the lecture on " Christianity and Scientific Investigation " which Newman wrote for his School of Science. Here Newman refers to a university as embracing within its scope the loftiest subjects of human thought, and the richest fields of human inquiry. He goes on to say " What an empire is in political history, such is a University in the sphere of philosophy and research. It is, as I have said, the high protecting power of all knowledge and science, of fact and principle, of inquiry and discovery, of experiment and speculation ". Father McGrath, it should be stated, takes the view that Newman always regarded research as having a place in a university, but it is not easy to deduce this from the preface to the discourses. However, there is no doubt that when he came to administer the affairs of the Catholic University, Newman was fully alive to the importance of research as a normal university activity. One speculates whether the fine Italian hand of Sullivan is not to be seen in Newman's change of view.

I have given both points of view in regard to the relative places of teaching and research in the science departments in a university. As we have seen they run the whole gamut from teaching only to almost neglect of teaching. I suppose that as in many human issues the truth lies between extremes. The students who come to a college must receive instruction ; on the other hand a university department in which no research is undertaken is a dead department. A teacher with no interest in advancing knowledge is seldom inspiring. Even in an understaffed department an effort should be made to carry out research although it may involve some neglect of teaching, provided a reasonable standard is reached in that latter departmental activity.

And now it falls to us to consider briefly Newman's efforts to develop the teaching of applied science in his university. This subject had become live a few years previously. The Great Exhibition of 1851 had shown that British industry was losing its premier place owing to the manner in which continental nations were fostering applied science. Accordingly, a new Department of Science and Art was created as a branch of the Board of Trade to improve the teaching of applied science and of art. Efforts to develop interest in applied science were already in progress in Dublin, where the Museum of Irish Industry had been founded in 1845 at the instance of Sir Robert Kane. Sullivan was chemist to the Museum. It may be mentioned that one of the investigations carried out by Kane and Sullivan showed that beet with a satisfactory sugar content could be grown in Ireland. For over fifty years the Royal Dublin

Society had conducted courses in applied science since William Higgins became its Professor of Chemistry in 1796.

In 1854 the Government, in accordance with its new policy, decided to organize the Museum as a School of Applied Science under the Department of Science and Art and the Society's Professors were transferred to the Museum. In 1867 the Museum became the Royal College of Science, and science was taught with a view to its application, until the College was closed by the Irish Government in 1926, and applied chemistry ceased to be taught at university level in this country. It will be observed that a foreign Government which was not particularly interested in the development of native industries instituted a college of applied science, and a native government anxious to develop industries found reasons, I presume administrative, to close it.

The teaching of applied science was therefore under discussion in Dublin in the early eighteen-fifties. One might have expected Newman, with his fear of the doctrine of utility invading university education, to object to the subject being taught in his College. On the contrary, he was anxious that there should be an institution for practical science such as was to be found in Paris, which would provide instruction in such matters as was given in the Museum of Irish Industry.[1] As mentioned above, the chemistry laboratory was equipped to meet the wants of those requiring a knowledge of chemistry for practical purposes, as for example, mining, metallurgy, the various chemical manufactures, bleaching, dyeing, tanning, brewing, distilling, sugar-boiling, and paper-making. In his efforts to develop the teaching of applied science, Newman was, as we have seen, following an old tradition, initiated by the Royal Dublin Society.

I should like here to quote from a petition for an increased grant submitted to the Irish Parliament by the Society early in 1800, before the Act of Union. This passage was probably written by the great Irish chemist, Richard Kirwan.

> The Society having embraced the important design of communicating to Ireland the benefits of science . . . feels the necessity of enlarging the lectures, so as to teach the elements and principles of *philosophic chemistry* in a systematic and experimental course, and also to have a course of them for *technical* chemistry to demonstrate the application of the principles delivered in the former, to various manufactures and arts. For, as the four rules of arithmetic must be learned, before their application to book-keeping, discount, calculation of interest, annuities, etc. can be taught, and as the elements of geometry and trigonometry must be understood, before their application to the arts of surveying, gauging,

[1] Newman had a connection with technology for he was related on his mother's side to Henry and Sealy Fourdrinier, who owned a paper-mill at Dartford, Kent, and who are remembered as having developed at a cost of £60,000 the " Fourdrinier " continuous paper-making machine.

> navigation fortification etc. can be comprehended, so, the knowledge of the general principles of *philosophic chemistry* necessarily precedes that of their application to various arts. Few should be admitted to a course of lectures on the latter, that have not passed through a course of lectures on the former.

Here are enunciated the principles on which applied chemistry and chemical engineering should be taught ; they are in line with the necessity of a philosophical basis for utility which Newman stresses in discussing the teaching of professional subjects. The Royal Dublin Society lost its professors in 1854, the Royal College of Science was closed in 1926, and Newman's scheme for an Institute of Applied Science came to naught. But the tradition remained and some years ago University College, Dublin, was able to begin teaching chemical technology at university level, and this session offers a course leading to a B.E. degree in chemical engineering.

The need for such a technological training is urgent. In the United States a demand grew up in the first half of the nineteenth century for facilities not furnished by the older universities for college training in applied science. This demand reached fruition in 1862 when the first Morrill Act provided for founding a college of applied science in each state. The main function of these colleges was to provide tuition in branches of learning related to agriculture and the mechanic arts. Many of these colleges have become world-famous, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of California to mention but two. And their work has put America far in advance of Britain in the field of applied science. There is much discussion in Britain as to how this deficiency is to be overcome, coupled with a fear that too great an emphasis on the teaching of applied science may involve university teachers being distracted from their essential work of advancing fundamental knowledge. I speak now of technological studies at the highest level, not of technical training which is properly carried out in a technical school.

Academic studies pursue learning for its own sake, but advanced technological studies involve in the main attention to the application of basic scientific knowledge to industrial problems. Thus there is a difference in spirit between the academic and the technological approach to science, just as there is a difference in spirit between the sciences and the humanities. However, the teaching of engineering, agriculture and medicine involves a practical as well as an academic approach, and yet these subjects have been successfully incorporated in a University discipline. There seems no reason why provided that the basic sciences are first taught, a training in applied chemistry, for example, should not be given in a university, and a proper blend made of the academic and practical approaches. A story was told in the Royal School of Mines of the owner of a copper mine who brought his son there and asked that

he might be taught to " do copper ". He did not want his son to waste his time on chemical analysis as such. There is always a danger, that the teaching of technology in a university may be directed into narrow channels by the pressure of public opinion ; one sometimes hears suggestions that in a Department of Civil Engineering, students should be taught, for example, to build bridges adapted to the needs of the country only, and that no effort should be made to initiate the students into the general principles of bridge building. If a Department of Applied Chemistry were to be developed in University College, Dublin, one might fear agitation for the work to be directed towards special problems without regard to the teaching of the basic principles of the subject. A university training in Chemical Engineering, for example, involves the study of the basic unit processes into which all chemical operations can be divided. The student is expected to combine the unit processes which he has learned, into any particular plant in which later he may become interested. Any attempt to restrict training in technology to local needs is educationally narrowing and unworthy of Newman's idea of the spirit of a University.

I have finished my discussion of Newman's views on the teaching o pure science, and the pursuit of research in a University, and have also said something on the teaching of applied science for which, somewhat unexpectedly, he was enthusiastic. I have quoted much from him, because it is often impossible to paraphrase his noble words. And because in all aspects of science the spirit in which it is pursued is pre-eminently important, I should like to quote now a passage from his essay on " Christianity and Scientific Investigation ". His words are :

> What I would urge upon every one, whatever may be his particular line of research,—what I would urge upon men of Science in their thoughts of Theology,—what I would venture to recommend to theologians, when their attention is drawn to the subject of scientific investigations, is a great and firm belief in the sovereignity of Truth. Error may flourish for a time, but Truth will prevail in the end. The only effect of error ultimately is to promote Truth. Theories, speculations, hypotheses, are started ; perhaps to die, still not before they have suggested ideas better than themselves. These better ideas are taken up in turn by other men, and, if they do not yet lead to truth, nevertheless they lead to what is still nearer to truth than themselves ; and thus knowledge on the whole makes progress. The errors of some minds in scientific investigation are more fruitful than the truths of others. A Science seems to be making no progress, but to abound in failures, yet imperceptibly all the time it is advancing, and it is of course a gain to truth even to have learned what is not true, if nothing more.[1]

[1] O'Faolain (" Newman's Way ". London, 1952) quotes from J. H. Mozley's " Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement " (London, 1882) to show that Newman considered physical science a waste of time. This is not apparent in his conduct of the affairs of the Catholic University.

And now we take our leave of Newman. An institution is but the lengthening shadow of a great man, and we in University College, think of Newman as our founder, and seek to be true to the principles in university education which he advocated. Were he to return today he would, I think, be pleased to see in operation Departments of Science which he had sought to found, and to know that he had succeeded in what he seemed to fail and that the locusts had not, as once he thought, eaten the heavy years he had spent in Dublin. What he had feared as the wheel ran round would come out a pitcher, seems not unlikely to emerge as the wine-jar he hoped to make. No human institution is perfect, and Newman in a review of our history might consider that there had been too much emphasis on national and not enough on catholic. Against much public opinion he adhered to the view that the best man for a post should be appointed regardless of his place of birth or of education. A college which lives too much on its tail is apt to run in grooves which are not the ringing grooves of change. Yet taking for all in all Newman would not, I think, be dissatisfied. It needs time for what has been done to be apparent. We may recall the words of Matthew Arnold :

> With aching hands and bleeding feet
> We dig and heap, lay stone on stone ;
> We bear the burden and the heat
> Of the long day, and wish 'twere done.
> Not till the hours of light return
> All we have built do we discern.

We have gone some way to realize Newman's ideals. And as long as we adhere to his principles we shall gain the respect of our students, and we shall be proud of how they bear themselves when they leave this college and enter the world.

T. S. Wheeler

Munificentissimus Deus

The Assumption of Our Lady

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Part II[1]

WE come now to the second part of our study, that is, the conformity of the doctrine of the Assumption with tradition. Leaving dogmatic tradition for later consideration we propose to begin by reviewing the theologico-historical tradition.

The dividing line between implicit and explicit tradition may be set, as already noted, about the end of the sixth century. Passing over the Coptic Church, which lapsed into the heresy of Eutyches in the fifth century and from the time of the patriarch Theodosius (†567) to our day, has officially celebrated the glorious resurrection of Our Lady on 9 August, the extant sources yield no fully satisfactory attestation of the bodily Assumption before that date. Among pre-Ephesian writers such as Origen, Ephraem, Severianus of Galbala, Epiphanius and Timothy of Jerusalem in the East, and Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine in the West, the death of our Lady is mentioned, usually in passing and as a common contingency. The priest Timothy comes closest to the doctrine of the Assumption without quite reaching it.[2]

The treatment of the question in St. Epiphanius is remarkable. In the *Panarion* (*Haer.* 78), where he rebukes the Antidicomarianitae (who denied the Virginity of Our Lady *post partum*), he observes that Holy Scripture records neither that the Mother of God died nor that she did not die ; neither that she was buried nor that she was not buried ; nor again that she went to Ephesus with St. John (MG 42, 716). Whether she died or was martyred or did not suffer death at all, the end of her life was most glorious. God can do what pleases Him. Her end no man knows : *τὸ τέλος αὐτῆς οὐδεις ἔγνα.*

This testimony of Epiphanius written in the period 374–77 by one who spent more than 30 years of his life in Palestine shows that no express historical tradition was extant in his time and neighbourhood. His attitude is a critical one. He knows the current hypotheses as to the end of Our Lady's life on earth. He affirms none ; he rejects none. His only avowal is that Holy Scripture is silent on account of the greatness of the prodigy (*thauma*).

These was a noticeable development in devotion to Our Lady in the century between the Council of Nicaea (325) and that of Ephesus (431).

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[1] For Part I see *Studies*, March 1953, pp. 75–82.

[2] M. Jugie : *La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge*. Rome. 1944. This repertory of texts and objective analysis of the sources has won the praise of even a non-Catholic German critic of the definition of the Assumption as being composed *in absolut kritischer Haltung*. We have drawn freely on this fine study and quote it for short as J. We have consulted also C. Balic, O.F.M. *Testimonia de Assumptione B.V.M. ex omnibus Saeculis*.

The attention of the Fathers was turned especially to her Divine Maternity. They emphasize her role of New Eve ; and they defend her perpetual virginity and perfect holiness against the heretics. The feast called *Memory of Saint Mary* began to be celebrated in some churches on or about 25 December, certainly by the beginning of the fifth century, possibly even early in the fourth. In the fifth century there was a feast of Our Lady on the Sunday before Christmas in the Churches of Ravenna and Milan ; and on 19 January in the Gallican liturgy of the sixth century (J. 195). In the age of Justinian, between 530 and 550, the feast of the Annunciation appears on the 25 March ; and it is possible that the feasts of the Nativity and the Presentation also entered church calendars about this time.

The Fathers who wrote between the Council of Ephesus (431) and II Constantinople (553) continue to exalt the glories of Theotocos but are silent on the manner of her departure from this life.

It was the Emperor Maurice (582–602) who, according to Nikephoros Kallistos (MG 147, 292) set the 15 August as the feast of the Koimesis or Dormition of Theotocos. Some twenty years later John, Archbishop of Thessalonika (610–649), introduced the feast into his diocese (*Patrol. Orient.* xix, 376).

At Rome there was as yet no feast of Our Lady, if we are to judge by the *Sacramentarium Leonianum,* which is held to exhibit the Roman liturgy of the fifth and sixth centuries. The absence of a feast however does not imply the absence of a cult or the silence of the liturgy in other respects. Thus the Roman baptismal symbol has from the third century, probably from the second : born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary (Symbol of Hippolytus †235) ; while the Eucharistic prayer in the Canon of Hippolytus has the same doctrine amplified thus : *Misisti de caelo in matricem Virginis, quique in utero habitus incarnatus est et Filius Tibi ostensus est ex Spiritu Sancto et Virgine Maria* (Connolly, *So-Called Egyptian Church Order,* 176). She is celebrated in the Roman *Communicantes* from the time of Pope Symmachus (498–514) according to Mgr. Batiffol (*Leçons sur la Messe,* 7 ed. 226–8) : Having communion and venerating the memory, in the first place, of the glorious Mary ever Virgin, Mother of God and of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

It remained therefore for Pope Sergius (687–701) to enrich the liturgy with four feasts of Our Lady, the Annunciation, the Dormition, the Nativity and the Purification. He prescribed that on these days a litany should be recited in a procession from the Church of St. Hadrian to St. Mary Major (*Lib. Pontif.* ML 138, 898).

What was the object of this feast of 15 August ? It celebrated of course the death and entry into heaven of Our Lady's soul, as did earlier feasts variously named *Natalis, Depositio, Pausatio.* But did it include the glorious entry of her body into heaven ? We confidently infer that it did from

the profession of this doctrine by the Roman Pontiffs and people in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries (J. 202) ; from the substitution of Assumption for the other names of the Feast in Rome towards the end of the eighth century, as testified by the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne about 784 ; and especially from the prayer contained therein :

> It is proper for us to honour this festal day on which the Mother of God, who bore Thy Son incarnate of her, suffered temporal decease, and yet could not be held down by the fetters of death (*Nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit*) ML 78, 133.

It would be pointless to say that Our Lady's soul, or indeed any soul, could not be held down by the fetters of death. Manifestly the reference must be to the glorious resurrection of her body. The Gelasian Sacramentary (substance of sixth and seventh centuries with later additions according to Callewaert) has in the secret of the Mass of the Assumption *quod vel talis assumpta est :* which can hardly be otherwise construed than to mean Assumption into glory of Our Lady in body and soul. The Bobbio Missal, perhaps of eighth century, has a Mass *In Adsumptione Beatae Mariae,* and these assertions : *ut quae terrae non eras conscia, te non teneret rupes inclusa ; cui . . . reddit . . . Adsumptio . . . Paradisum.* Finally, the Mozarabic Sacramentary (ninth century) has the express statement that Our Lady was assumed into heaven whither no one of either sex besides was assumed.

By the ninth century two currents of doctrine can be distinguished in Western tradition, one increasing in strength and volume, favourable to the doctrine of the Assumption, the other, inconsiderable in volume and soon in gradual recession, of a minimist complexion. The chief representative of the first view is the pseudo-Augustine (ML 40, 1141) ; and of the second the pseudo-Jerome (ML 30, 122). The latter takes the form of a letter from St. Jerome to Paula and Eustochium. But it bears manifest signs of inauthenticity, such as the condemnation of the heresies of Nestorius (fl. 428) and Eutyches (fl. 448) which are subsequent to St. Jerome (†419). Recent scholarship favours Paschasius Radbertus (†865) as the real author of the piece. This strange literary device of concealing a private opinion under the name and authority of a Doctor of the Church bore heavily on mediaeval tradition. For, in fact, from the age of Charlemagne to the reform of the Roman Breviary under Pius V (1568) this letter appeared in whole or in part in the nocturns of the Feast or the Octave of the Assumption. A slight examination of the letter seems called for here.

The pseudo-Jerome does not deny the bodily Assumption of Our Lady outright. He not only admits its possibility (*Quod, quia nihil Deo est impossibile, nec nos de beata Maria Virgine factum abnuimus*), but cites in its favour the resurrection of many at the death of Christ (Mt. xxvii,

52) as well as a tradition that only manna was found in the tomb of St. John the Evangelist. Further he states " that no one knows how or when or by whom the most holy body was removed, or where it was placed, or whether it has not been raised up from the dead " : which implies at least that it has not returned to dust. But he has two cautionary remarks : first, that in free questions a pious opinion is more circumspect than a rash asseveration (*pio magis desiderio opinari oporteat quam inconsulte definire quod sine periculo nescitur*) ; secondly, that the apochryphal *Transitus Mariae* (i.e. the Pseudo-Melito) should not be unconditionally accepted with many of the Latins ; for that would be to assent firmly to a matter of doubt.

A similar view is found in the Martyrology of Usuardus, a monk of the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Près († post 869). The notice, which is based on that appearing in the Martyrology of Adon of Vienne (written at Lyons 850–860) may be translated thus :

> The Dormition of Holy Mary Mother of God. Although her most holy body is not found on earth, still Holy Mother the Church, in no doubt that in accordance with the condition of human flesh she has died, celebrates her blessed memory of this festal day. As to where, by divine decree, that most venerable temple of the Holy Ghost has been hidden away, is a matter on which the sober devotion of the Church has preferred to know nothing rather than to profess some frivolous and apocryphal tenet. (ML 124, 365).

Here again the incorruptibility of Our Lady's body is clearly implied. For the rest the author counsels sobriety and deprecates recourse to the Apocrypha.

Among the adherents of this view from the tenth to the thirteenth century we may mention Atto of Vercelli, Odilo of Cluny, Guibert of Nogent, Arnold of Bonneval, Ethelred of Riedval, Isaac de Stella, Alain of Lille, John Beleth, Petrus de Celles, and Innocent IV (J. 377).

In spite of the undeserved authority which the pseudo-Jerome acquired by favour of a great name as well as by incorporation in some breviaries and martyrologies, it rendered nevertheless some important services. In the first place it ensured that the disapproval of the Apocrypha expressed in the *Decretum Gelasianum* should be maintained in later tradition. Secondly, it favoured the true doctrine in various ways. It maintained that the bodily Assumption of Our Lady was possible ; that it had precedents in Holy Scripture ; that it was an appropriate privilege ; a pious article of belief ; and that in any case the body of the Mother of God, whether risen from the dead or still awaiting resurrection, was immune from decay. Finally, it helped to clarify the distinction between explicit and implicit tradition by stressing the lack of the former in Holy Scripture and early tradition, without as yet perceiving the existence of the latter and the correct way to develop it.

It remained therefore for an anonymous theologian, not earlier, it seems, than the age of Charlemagne and possibly several centuries later,

whose *De Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis Liber Unus,* through no fault of his own, was included among the works of St. Augustine (ML 40, 1141) to analyse and establish the theological principles which postulate the bodily Assumption of the Mother of God. His work was the beginning of an epoch ; and has not, in its kind, been surpassed. We will try to summarize his method and some of his arguments.

What are we to say of the death of Mary, he writes, what of her Assumption, uncommemorated in Holy Scripture, unless we seek by reasoning that which is in conformity with the truth, and let the truth, without which all authority must fail, become our authority ? There are truths unrecorded in Holy Scripture which are established by reason : as that Melchisedech was a just man or that Enoch and Elias are in beatitude. Similarly, though we hear but once of Our Lady after Our Lord's Ascension (Act i 14), we are entitled to infer that, like her Son, she suffered death of the body. But did she fall under the primal curse of Adam : Dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return (Gen. iii 19) ? No, because her flesh, which was the flesh of Christ, did not incur it. Did she fall under the malediction of Eve, that her sorrows and conceptions should be multiplied ; that in sorrow she should bring forth children ; and that she should be under the power and dominion of her husband ? The sword of sorrow did indeed pierce her soul (Luke 2, 35) he continues ; but her singular sanctity and grace and her high prerogatives rendered her immune from that sentence and ensured her virginity and perfect integrity.

If Our Lord then made such exceptions in favour of his Mother, is it wrong to claim preservation from decay for the flesh of which Christ was born and in which He communicated ? If He decreed the bodily integrity of His Mother in life, why not in death ? The flesh of Jesus is the flesh of Mary (*caro enim Iesu caro est Mariae*) ; and as the Law bids man to honour his mother, we infer that He who could do so did not fail as a dutiful son to save the flesh of His flesh from the indignity of decay and resolution into dust. Again, if grace can unite the faithful at large with Christ and God (John xvii 21) so that where Christ is they should be (John xvii 24), how much more should one who is bound to Him not only by grace but is flesh of His flesh and human nature be with her Son in glory of body and soul ?

We can merely touch on later Western tradition. The protagonists of the Assumption include the great theologians of the Church from the eleventh century onwards : St. Peter Damian, Richard of St. Victor, B. Amadaeus of Lausanne, St. Albert the Great, St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, St. Bernadine of Sienna, St. Antoninus of Florence, Cajetan de Vio, Melchior Cano, Domenico Soto, St. Peter Canisius, Francis Suarez, Caesar Baronius, who overthrew the authority of the pseudo-Jerome and the pseudo-Melito, St. Robert Bellarmine, St. Francis de Sales, de Lugo, Billuart, Prosper Lambertini (Benedict XIV) and

St. Alphonsus Liguori. To these could be added a great number of less familiar names who defended a maximist or minimist or some intermediate position ; and who consequently assigned to the doctrine of the Assumption a variety of theological qualifications from that of divine faith to that of a pious belief. Indeed the consensus of opinion became so perfect in modern times that there is no record for several centuries, as far as we know, of any theologian who positively denied the doctrine of the Assumption.

The devotion of the Church to this prerogative of the Mother of God embodied itself in the economy of Catholic life in many and characteristic ways. It has not only been solemnly attested in the liturgies of West and East but also by the countless churches dedicated to God in honour of the Virgin Mary received into heaven ; by pictures and statues portraying her incomparable triumph ; by cities, dioceses and provinces under the patronage of the Assumption ; and by religious institutes named after the same privilege. Finally the Assumption is one of the mysteries proposed for our meditation in the recitation of the Rosary.

As regards the mind of Church in the years immediately preceding the definition, the Apostolic Constitution has not failed to record in the first place the answer of the bishops of the whole Church to the HolyFather's letter of 1 May 1946. It is without doubt the most important collective attestation of the faith of the Church in the Assumption in the whole course of tradition. The Holy Father put this question to the bishops :

> Above all we are most eager to know whether You, Venerable Brothers, in accordance with your eminent wisdom and prudence, are of the opinion that the corporal Assumption of the most Blessed Virgin can be proposed and defined as a dogma of faith ; and whether You, with your clergy and people desire it.

With almost unanimous voice the Bishops answered both questions in the affirmative. The theological moment of the declaration is manifest and is characterized in the Constitution in this way :

> This [answer of the bishops] showed us what was the common teaching of the ordinary Teaching Authority of the Church, as well as the common faith of the Christian people. This common consent is of itself an absolutely certain proof which admits of no error that the privilege in question is a truth revealed by God, and contained in that divine Deposit which Christ entrusted to His Spouse, to be faithfully guarded and infallibly proclaimed (par. 10).

Now as " all those things are to be believed with divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the written or orally transmitted word of God and are proposed by the Church either by solemn or the ordinary and universal Teaching Authority to be believed as divinely revealed truths (Vat. Council *De Fide Catholica,* ch. 4 ; here cited par. 12) it follows that a doctrine which was *de fide divina catholica* from the Ordinary Magisterium of the Church (as expressed in the Bishops' reply) became by the Pontifical definition *de fide divina catholica definita.*

The Eastern tradition of devotion to Our Lady and particularly to her bodily Assumption into heaven has always been rich and widely diffused, even among the churches which went into schism at the time of the Christological controversies in the fifth century. We have already pointed out that it was one of the Monophysite Churches, the Coptic, followed by the Abyssinian, which first officially professed the doctrine in the time of the Patriarch Theodosius (†567). As to the other Monophysite Churches, the Armenian holds the same doctrine clearly enough ; but the Jacobites of Syria celebrate merely the death and bodily incorruptibility of Our Lady. The position of the Nestorian Church is vague and inconsistent. In spite of an occasional text favourable to the Assumption, it appears that the Dormition alone (with a preparatory fast) is celebrated among them.

Beginning therefore, as in the West, with the earliest feast of the Mother of God, we observe that the Memory of Saint Mary was celebrated on Christmas Day in Constantinople early in the fifth century (J. 177). Under Justinian therefore the Annunciation was appropriately assigned to the 25 March. A little later came the feast of the Nativity on the 8 September ; while, by the decree of the Emperor Maurice, the Dormition was celebrated on the 15 August.[1]

Greek tradition from the middle of the seventh century is altogether favourable to the doctrine of the Assumption. Most theologians and the faithful in general profess it. The Greek homilists, in their treatment of the Feast, usually develop a three-fold theme : the death of Our Lady ; her glorious bodily resurrection ; her mediation.

Some writers indeed, both before and after the tenth century, were content to allow her the privilege of bodily incorruptibility and safe-keeping in some unknown place more honourable than our earth. But by the sixteenth century the full doctrine was universally accepted as a devout belief though not as a dogma. The feast itself is a Church holiday since 1166 or earlier ; and has a preparatory fast, or rather Lent, and an octave. Among the protagonists of the doctrine is Gregory Palamas, who professes his belief in these terms :

> For to-day only she, in her body glorified by the brightness of God, has reached the heavenly abode. And indeed earth and the grave and death could not imprison until the end of the world that body which God chose as dwelling more pleasing than heaven and the heaven of heavens . . . wherefore she alone is the confine [metherion] of the created

[1] Why the 15 August ? P. Jugie (181) traces it to the dedication of a church built by the matron Ikelia in honour of " the immaculate and ever Virgin Mother of God " at the point, called the Kathisma, where tradition stated that Theotocos rested on the way from Jerusalem to Bethlehem on the vigil of the Nativity. This tradition is alluded to by the pilgrim Theodosius (Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana,* 148). Now the typicon of the Church of Jerusalem (published by Kekeledge in a Georgian version at Tiflis 1912) give the 13 August as the day of the dedication. J. surmises accordingly that this day was assigned to the death of Our Lady and the 15 to her glorious resurrection. In this way she had, like her Son, a triduum of death.

> and the uncreated, and no one comes to God unless through her he is truly illuminated with the brightness of God. (Homily on the most holy Dormition of our most pure Lady, Mother of God MG 151, 472)

Another supporter was the philocalvinist Cyril Lukar (†1638); while Macarius of Patmos defends a principle which is not found anywhere in the West: namely that whatever privileges Christ possessed as Man, the same must be ascribed to His Mother (J. 347).

Finally, in the 1904 ed. of the *Menaei* the editor, Michael I Suliveros, in order, as he states, to bring the Kathisma of 15 August into accord with the common tradition of the Church, as well as to improve the verse, altered a couplet which commemorated the bodily incorruption of Our Lady into a profession of her entry in body and soul into heaven.

As for the Russian Church, its attitude to the Assumption is in accordance with that of the Greek Church. One of the first churches to be built in Russia was that of the Dormition at Kiev in 991. Since then to the present time the bodily Assumption of Our Lady is attested by the Russian Liturgy and is defended by the majority of Russian theologians. Thus Serge Boulgakov, professor in the Russian Theological Institute in Paris, while denying in a recent book (*Koupina Neopalimaia*, Paris, 1927) the Immaculate Conception and deprecating a definition of the Assumption, has this further observation:

> This new dogma in fact, apart from the formula in which it may be expressed, confronts the orthodox conscience with nothing new. Orthodox theology contains all that corresponds to the resurrection, assumption into heaven and heavenly glorification of the Mother of God. (J 358).

As the East was the first and chief source of the Apochrypha of the Assumption we may deal briefly with them at this point.

The New Testament Apocrypha, of which the Apocrypha of the Assumption are a part, generally circulated under the name of an Apostle or of an associate of the Apostle, and purported to supplement the information of the Canonical Scriptures on some person or event.

Some twenty Apocrypha of the Assumption are now known in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac and Arabic, with derivatives in many medieval vernaculars. They appear to be the latest of the NT Apocrypha and to belong to the post-Ephesian age. A Syriac *Transitus* published by Wright in 1865 is thought to be the earliest of its kind and is assigned by P. Jugie to the end of the fifth century.[1] Other well known pieces include the pseudo-Melito (MG 5, 1231), the pseudo-John published by Tischendorf in 1866; and the *Historia Euthymiaca*, interpolated during the ninth century in the second homily of St. John Damascene on the Dormition (MG 96, 748).

These and other narratives of the same class are not, it seems, a legendary amplification of authentic memories; they appear rather to

[1] Another view refers it to the fourth century.

have sprung by a kind of spontaneous generation from high sentiment of honour for Theotocos in the decades that followed the definition of the Divine Maternity (Capelle, *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Dec. 1950). For from that time the *Transitus Mariae* from earth to Heaven became more instant. All knew that Our Lord had raised others from the dead ; that at the death of the Lord Himself " the graves were opened : and many bodies of the saints that had slept arose " (Mt. xxvii 52). They reasoned therefore in this way : If Our Lord had done so much for friends or strangers, surely He cannot have done less for his own mother ! On the other hand it was taken for granted that the answer to the question had to be sought in revelation. Even the apocryphal writers show their acceptance of that principle by feigning to derive their information from an Apostolic source. In a true sense therefore the Apocrypha are witnesses to the emergence of an important theological problem in the latter half of the fifth century. But their solution is of no further theological or historical significance.

It is a serious mistake to suppose that the Apocrypha of the Assumption assert without exception the bodily glorification of Theotocos in Heaven. Some of them in fact break off after the burial of Our Lady ; others recount the glorious resurrection ; others again merely consign her body to a place of safe keeping ; one at least, a Coptic piece, expressly defers the resurrection until the Parousia (James *NT Apocrypha* 198).

The earliest record of the attitude of the Church in their regard is found in the *Decretum Gelasianum* : " The book called the Passage, i.e. the Assumption of Mary, apocryphal " (ML 59, 178). The attribution to Pope Gelasius (492–6) has long been discussed by scholars. It is likely that some parts, such as the canon of Scripture, are earlier, others later. The fifth part, the " List of Apocryphal Books, which are not received " may very well be the work of Gelasius. It is remarkable in any case that in what has been called the first List of Prohibited Books issued by the Church an apocryphal narrative of the Assumption should be declared to lack the approval of the Roman See.

Nevertheless the Apocrypha continued to circulate in various churches. They had early currency in Syria and Egypt. Antioch resisted them. Byzantium yielded slowly and late. Dom Capelle is disposed to think that their diffusion was in inverse ratio to the strength of local religious institutions. But nowhere did they secure *ius civitatis* in the Catholic Church. The attitude of disapproval initiated by Gelasius persisted and manifested itself vigorously at various points in history : in the Carolingian age with the pseudo-Jerome ; thereafter, until the middle of the sixteenth century through the incorporation of that cautionary letter of Paschasius in breviaries and through its influence on certain martyrologies ; in France in the middle of the seventeenth century where the revision of the martyrology of Usuardus in the Chapter

of Notre Dame gave rise to a not inconsiderable controversy among contemporary theologians.

When it is remembered therefore that the Apocrypha in general are such by the authority of the Church : a decision which, in the estimation of a non-Catholic critic, inspires " an added respect for the Church Catholic, and for the wisdom of the scholars of Alexandria, Antioch and Rome " (James, *NT Apocrypha* xii), and, specifically, when it is recalled that the Apocrypha of the Assumption have been officially and officiously repudiated from their first appearance to our time, it is surprising to find a Protestant critic dismissing a doctrine contained in the common and immemorial tradition of East and West as a purely apocryphal product : *durchaus aus apocryphischen Quellen . . . erwachsen* (Zöckler, *Realencykl. für Prot. Theol.* xii 320).

This German view, which, though published half a century ago, has recently been appropriated by Anglican divines in their comments on the present definition, is in substance as follows. The Saga (*Sage,* in German) of the *Transitus Mariae* in writings like the pseudo-John or Melito were accepted as true by the pseudo-Dionysius and St. Gregory of Tours. The feast is first mentioned by St. Andrew of Crete who invokes the pseudo-Dionysius and compares the Transitus of Our Lady with that of Enoch and Elias.

This casual juxtaposition of a few names and references is all that Zöckler has to offer us in favour of a positive and peremptory assertion. There is manifestly nothing in them taken singly or collectively to establish his thesis that the doctrine of the Assumption derives entirely from the Apocrypha. They are not however entirely inevidential. For they prove three things : first, that there were Apocrypha of the Assumption ; secondly, that one or other of the Fathers used them uncritically ; thirdly, that Zöckler's attempt to deduce the Assumption from the Apocrypha is an ingenuously uncritical performance. For he has failed to see not only that his thesis lacked all proof, but that it is directly refuted by the express and reiterated repudiation of the Apocrypha from the *Decretum Gelasianum* to our times, as well as by the studied attitude of hostility towards them of all but a small and uninfluential number of Fathers and Theologians.

We have already dealt with those theological matters the neglect of which has led Zöckler and his followers into unscientific charges against the doctrine of the Assumption. Among them were the concept and functions of an infallible Magisterium, the meaning of tradition, the development of dogma ; and arising from the latter, the distinction between historico-theological and dogmatic tradition as a vehicle for the transmission of doctrines contained implicitly in the deposit of faith. It remains for us therefore at the end to summarize the dogmatic grounds in favour of the Assumption.

The distinction between historico-theological and dogmatic tradition has been explained above. Each is, in its fashion, a vehicle for the transmission of revelation. The former is a positive and factual record of persons, events, doctrines. The latter consists in principles or laws regulative of the supernatural economy of redemption from which may be derived doctrines or facts explicitly unrecorded in the Deposit of Faith.

What then are the dogmatic principles of the Assumption? In its review of tradition the Constitution recalls some of them.

From the earliest times, it observes, Christians professed their belief in Our Lady's immunity from the primal curse: Dust thou art and into dust thou shalt return (Gen. iii 19). They understood this immunity to be in accord with her dignity of Mother of God and other privileges such as were granted to no other pure creature. The early liturgies in East and West derive the same prerogative of Theotocos from the same source. The arguments of St. John Damascene are cited as typical of other Fathers:

> She who in childbirth had preserved her virginity intact had to preserve her body incorrupt even after death. She who had carried the Creator as a little child in her arms had to reside in heavenly dwellings. The bride whom the Father had espoused had to abide in heavenly bridal-chambers. She who beheld her own Son on the cross; she whose heart was pierced with sorrow which she had been spared at His birth, had to behold Him sitting with the Father. The Mother of God had to possess what the Son possesses and had to be venerated by all creation as the Mother and handmaid of God (par 23).

Next the Constitution recalls the purpose of the scholastic theologians to study the harmony existing between the doctrine of the Assumption and the divine truths of Holy Scripture. "They insisted, the Constitution points out, that the first principle of their arguments was this: that, because of His filial devotion to His Mother, Jesus Christ willed that she should be assumed into heaven. They asserted that the strength of these arguments was based upon the incomparable dignity of her Divine Maternity and also upon all the favours consequent upon it. These favours are: her eminent sanctity which surpassed the sanctity of all men and angels; the intimate union of Mary and her Son; and the affection of that special love which the Son was wont to bestow upon his most worthy Mother" (par. 26, 27).

Towards the end the Constitution had this important comment: "All these arguments and considerations of the Fathers and theologians rest on Sacred Scripture for their ultimate foundation." This scriptural basis is set out in Section VI (par. 43–45) and may perhaps be resumed in this way.

The physical, moral and salvific unity of Mary and her Son is irreconcilable with the dissolution of her body in the grave and her deferred resurrection.

The physical unity of Mary and Our Lord lies in her Divine Motherhood. " Hence it seems practically impossible ", the Constitution teaches, " to contemplate her who conceived Christ, brought Him forth, nourished Him with her milk, held Him in her arms and embraced Him, as separated in body from Him, though not in soul, after her life on earth was over " (par. 43).

The moral unity consists in the bond of supreme love and piety which knit a perfect Son and His most beloved and immaculate Mother. Assuredly Christ observed perfectly the divine precept of honouring His Mother. Hence, as He had the power to preserve the flesh and blood in which He was conceived and born from the indignity of corruption and resolution into dust, we must believe that He did not fail to do so.

The salvific unity lies in the part played by Our Lady in the struggle against the infernal enemy. In this struggle, foretold in Genesis, tradition since the second century saw Mary as the New Eve whose role in our Redemption was contrasted with that of the Old Eve in our downfall.[1] The Fathers beheld her, though subject to the New Adam, as closely united with Him in winning a complete victory over sin, and over that which in St. Paul is always joined with sin as its sequel and punishment, namely death of the body (Rom. v 12, vi 23, I Cor. xv 56). " Hence ", the Constitution continues, " as the glorious resurrection of Christ was an essential part and the final sign of this victory, in like manner the struggle which the Blessed Virgin endured in common with her Son was to end in the glorification of her virginal body ".

This salvific unity, which supposes and in fact includes the physical unity, is, as already noted, founded on Sacred Scripture. It is taught by the Fathers and Theologians in the doctrine of Recapitulation whereby the New Adam and the New Eve are set before us as the repairers of the ruin caused by the Old Adam and the Old Eve. In the Pontifical documents of this century it has been specially emphasized in the title given to Our Lady : Corredemptrix.[2] From all eternity therefore the Mother of God was united " by one and the same decree " of predestination with and by her Son as a single principle of our redemption, in her life, in her death, and in the undeferred and glorious resurrection of her body.

MARIA IN CAELUM ASSUMPTA
ORA PRO NOBIS

D. S. Nerney

[1] This theme, which St. Jerome epitomises " Death through Eve, Life through Mary " is found in Justinus († 163/167), Irenaeus, Tertullian, Ephraem, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Augustine (" By a woman Death, by a Woman Life "), John Damascene.

[2] That the cooperation of Our Lady in the work of redemption is not *ex aequo* is implied in the Constitution wherein the New Eve is described as " subject to the New Adam " (par. 44). Similarly Pius X taught that Mary " associated with and by Christ in the work of human redemption, merits for us *de congruo* what Christ merited *de condigno* " (Encycl. *Ad Diem* 1904). Finally Benedict XV in Litt. Apost. *Inter Sodalicia* 1918, teaches that Mary, beneath the Cross, " immolated, as far as in her lay (*quantum ad se pertinebat*), her Son ; in such wise that she may rightly be said to have redeemed the human race with Christ ".

The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages

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PARLIAMENT has not been a popular word in Ireland during the past forty years, and there has been a very marked tendency to neglect the study of Irish parliamentary institutions. The recent publication of an elaborate history of the medieval Irish parliament is thus a most welcome event ; and it is perhaps fitting that one of its two joint authors should hold the Chair of History in the Queen's University, Belfast.[1] Stormont is very much more directly in the line of descent from the English Parliament than Leinster House ; yet both houses owe more to their medieval predecessor than is commonly understood by the average M.P. or T.D. Mr. Richardson and Professor Sayles, to whom we owe this handsome volume, are recognized as scholars who by their patient research among the surviving records of English parliamentary administration have compelled other students to revise the accepted view of the development of the English parliamentary system as a whole. Their work as joint authors began as far back as 1927-28, when they published two important papers on the parliaments of Edward I and Edward II in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research ;* and their first contribution to the study of the Irish parliament dates from 1928, when they published a paper on the Irish parliaments of Edward I in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.* Since that date they have given us a long series of learned papers, each of them in turn marked by that combination of accurate knowledge and clear grasp of administrative and judicial procedure which is so evident in their new work on the medieval Irish parliament. But this new volume is also a companion to two volumes of unpublished texts selected to illustrate the history of Irish parliaments and councils ; one of which was published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1947, the second being on the Commission's list of future publications.[2] Students of Irish medieval history are thus very deeply indebted to these two English scholars for a work of long-sustained and patient research such as is all too rare in this country.

Our modern tradition of parliamentary democracy is now so deeply rooted in our political thought, and is so closely associated in particular with the historic development of the British parliament, that we find it

[1] *The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages.* By H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. $8.50.

[2] *Parliaments and Councils of Mediaeval Ireland.* Volume I. Edited by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles. Dublin : Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1947. 25s.

far from easy to understand the nature of parliamentary institutions in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is here that Mr. Richardson and Professor Sayles are best able to help us ; for they have resolutely set themselves to view the written records of parliament against the background of contemporary history, not according to some preconceived theory of what " Parliament " must always have been from the beginning. Irishmen may take pride in the thought that at least one Irish student of the past century came near to seeing the true nature of early parliamentary institutions. This was William Lynch, a Dublin barrister, who published his *View of Legal Institutions, Honorary Hereditary Offices and Feudal Baronies established in Ireland during the Reign of Henry II* in 1830 ; and his *Case illustrative of the law and usage of the prescriptive Baronies of Ireland* in 1835. Lynch was no *a priori* theorist, but based his *View* on a careful study of the surviving texts ; indeed we owe our knowledge of several texts, now destroyed, to the fortunate fact that he printed a number of early writs of summons from the originals then in the Irish Record Office. The authors of this up-to-date survey of the surviving evidence cite with approval, as coming nearer to the truth than any historian before Maitland, Lynch's conclusion : " that in Ireland, as in England, those powers now properly divided between the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial authorities were exercised at that early period by the King and his Council (private or general, as the case might have been) in full Parliament assembled." Whig political theorists were constitutionally unable to appreciate such a view of early parliamentary functions ; and the introductory chapter to this book gives an admirable account of the slow process by which a more accurate and critical study of the texts has convinced modern scholars that a representative element was in no sense a necessary constituent of parliament in its first stage of development. Edwards I's " Model Parliament " of 1295 is now recognized as a fiction of modern constitutional historians ; and any attempt to find a parallel " Model " Irish parliament is futile. It was Maitland who first insisted that " a session of the king's council is the core and essence of every *parliamentum* " ; and many of the chapters in this book are concerned with the argument that a medieval parliament was primarily a meeting of the king's council in parliament, not a more or less perfect or imperfect representative assembly. The two authors of this volume stand by the old definition given in *Fleta : habet enim rex curiam suam in concilio suo in parliamentis suis.*

These are technical matters, but they are important if we are to get a true picture of the development here in Ireland. For the essential fact in all this history is that, allowing for an inevitable time-lag as between the two countries, parliament in Ireland develops on very much the same lines as parliament in England ; though in the last stage of its development before the Tudor age the Irish parliament has acquired

certain minor differentiating characteristics as compared with its English counterpart. In both systems the king is the central figure ; but in Ireland the king is almost always an absentee, whose place is taken by a resident justiciar or (in the fifteenth century) a deputy or his lieutenant. Henry II visited Ireland immediately after the first stage of the conquest ; John came as a young lord of Ireland in 1185, and again as king in 1210. None of these three visits lasted for more than a few months, and almost two centuries were to pass after John's second visit before another king of England (Richard II) came to Ireland. It may seem unreal to claim that the king was the centre of government in such a system. But we forget too easily that the Angevin kings of England were rulers of vast territories in France where the king was also, for the most part, an absentee. Until the loss of Normandy under John, every Angevin king spent a large proportion of his time in one or other of his French territories. With the loss of Normandy that was changed ; very much for the better, so far as English interests were concerned. But the authors of this history are fully justified in comparing English rule in that portion of Ireland which was conquered by the Norman lords with English rule in Anjou or Aquitaine, whilst they compare English policy towards the native Irish with English policy towards the native Welsh. Neither the Welsh nor the Irish have kind memories of their experience ; but it would be idle to deny the lasting influence that contact with English or Anglo-Norman lords had on the development of their native Welsh and Irish institutions. It is the English common law, not Irish brehon law, which has determined the development of our political and social life.

In England the Angevin kings ruled in close association with a council that here, as in every other country of feudal Europe, was taken for granted as a natural organ of day-to-day government. The king moved from place to place ; some of his more constant advisers and ministers moved with him, and from his close association with an inner group of a chosen few was later to develop the privy council (*secretum concilium*), as opposed to the more general or common council (*commune consilium*). As in England, so in Ireland ; with the obvious difference that the justiciar takes the place of the absent king. He rules in close association with a council ; and what little evidence survives lets us see that under Henry and John the justiciar's council was as loosely organized as the king's council was in England. The chief offices of state had not yet been developed. The first known treasurer is John of St. John who came to Ireland in 1212 ; the first permanent chancellor is Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, who came in 1232 ; the first escheator was Thomas FitzAdam, who dealt with escheats in 1217 though he does not seem to have been known by the official title of escheator.

The most significant difference between English and Irish administration at this stage (apart from the permanent absence of the king)

is the fact that the characteristic English institution of the exchequer does not appear in Dublin until after the year 1200, and that the functions of the Irish exchequer remain almost entirely financial for some time to come. In England the exchequer was already the seat of an immensely influential court of law ; the expertise of those who sat at the chequered board gave the administration of Henry II its unique character among European countries. In Ireland royal justice was, inevitably, of slower growth. A permanent common bench was not known in Dublin until the middle of the thirteenth century ; even the justiciar had at first no power to issue common-law writs, and was not allowed to try pleas of the Crown unless he had been granted special authority for that purpose. The time-lag between Ireland and England is here apparent, but the essential development continues steadily on parallel lines.

Since the later development of parliament will be from these early councils of the justiciar, who presides over them in the name of an absent king, it is of some importance to gather what little can be known of the council's organization. A list of Irish parliaments is printed at the end of this volume ; it fills more than thirty pages, but it does not begin before the year 1264. Special assemblies of nobles or magnates, which scholars seek to define more closely as " great councils " or " afforced councils " met frequently before that date ; but there was no regular time of place at which they were required to meet. And it is essential to remember that the king himself could summon a council in England to deal with Irish affairs if it suited his convenience ; the justiciar was no more than the king's representative in Ireland, and his jurisdiction in the lordship of Ireland could never supersede the king's overriding authority. Some instructive examples are given in the early chapters of this volume. In December 1192 John, still lord of Ireland, grants the bishopric of Glendalough to the archbishop of Dublin " *consilio baronum meorum.*" The charter in which this grant is made was issued from Nottingham. Who were the barons who assisted John at this council ? In February 1207 John, now king, held a council at Oxford at which it was agreed that an aid of a thirteenth should be levied both in England and Ireland. There is reason to believe that the Earl Marshal and William of Briouze, lord of Limerick, were present at this council. Were they the only Irish lords at Oxford in that month ? Who were the king's Irish advisers in the years 1206 and 1207 ? The question has a special interest for a reason that is not mentioned in this volume. We read in the Annals of Ulster for 1206 that the *comharba* of Patrick (Echdonn mac Gille Uidhir) " went to the house of the king of the Saxons on behalf of the churches of Ireland, and to complain of the foreigner." Echdonn had been elected to the vacant see of Armagh in 1201 against the wish of the king, and he had not yet secured the king's assent to his election in the first half of 1206. But that assent had been given before the end of August, as is

plain from an entry on the English patent rolls ; and the archbishop of Armagh stood so high in the king's favour during the next few months that he was sent by John to administer the vacant see of Exeter in the summer of 1207. Was Echdonn's advice taken on the question of an Irish contribution to the aid ? And what were the terms of the agreement which was finally made between the king (who had not yet broken with Innocent III) and the archbishop of Armagh ? Did it include some arrangement by which an Anglo-Norman clerk, Luke Netterville, was made archdeacon of Armagh—and was thus given the opportunity of unanimous selection (in 1217) as Echdonn's successor in the primatial see ? Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical policy was never far removed from more secular decisions.

That raises a more fundamental question. What was the Irish attitude to these royal decisions, whether the King's council met in England or in Ireland ? Henry II had come to Ireland in 1171, and had received the submission of the Irish kings. John had come in 1185, and again in 1210 ; on each occasion he had received a large number of submissions, though some kings did not appear. From some characteristic phrases in letters which Henry III, John's son, issued in 1226, 1228 and 1233, we know that in English eyes the assent of the great Anglo-Norman magnates of Ireland was taken as representing the common consent of all men of Ireland (*communis omnium de Hibernia consensus*). This phrase is used in particular with reference to the occasion when Henry's father, King John, had come to Ireland in 1210 and had required all the magnates of Ireland to swear that they would observe in Ireland the laws and customs of England. In one of Henry's letters this oath is said to have been exacted at the request of the Irish (*ad instantiam Hibernensium*). If we are to judge these statements by later standards of representative government, they are plainly absurd ; but the law by which not only England and Ireland, but all countries of Western Europe was then governed was feudal law which rested on very different principles of consent. The assent of great lords or magnates was taken as carrying with it the assent of those who held land of them ; those who were landless simply did not count. On this principle English lawyers had no difficulty in assuming the " consent of all the people of Ireland " as evidenced by the assent of a few great men. Custom and prescriptive right were soon taken as running either from the date of the conquest, or from some more recent date such as the coronation of Richard I or John. Irishmen soon found themselves involved in unfamiliar forms that implied far more than appeared on the surface.

The authors of this book make little or no use of native Irish sources : yet it is no harm to turn for a moment to a purely Irish literary source, such as the recently published text of the so-called " Annals of Connacht." Here we find, for example, under the year 1228 an entry to the

the effect that " Richard son of William Burke arrived from England, bringing with him his appointment as justiciar by the king." The Irish chronicler then goes on to tell how " a great assembly was convened in Connacht by the Foreigners of Ireland and the Gaels, including the kings and chieftains of Ireland, about the two sons of Ruaidhri." He adds : " Most unfortunate was the decision they came to there " ; not because the Foreigners were permitted to lay down terms as to which of the two sons should be king of Connacht, but because the kingship was given to the younger whilst the elder son was driven out of Connacht. Plainly we are dealing with a world in which modern theories of representative government are inapplicable.

Irish willingness to submit to English law and English rule is more strikingly apparent in an episode that occurred some fifty years later, and which has recently been illustrated by two hitherto unpublished documents. These documents show that negotiations which are first mentioned in a letter from Edward I's justiciar, Robert de Ufford, to the king, in 1276 or 1277, were being conducted on behalf of a large group of Irish petitioners by the archbishop of Cashel, the bishops of Killaloe and Emly and the abbot of Holy Cross : all of them Irish prelates with well-known Irish names. These prelates began by offering on behalf of " the Irish of Ireland " the sum of eight thousand marks " that they may have free law without the Irish of Ulster, and then all their bodies would belong to the king." The sum thus offered was later raised to ten thousand marks (perhaps more than £200,000 in our money), but the negotiations fell through. As in Wales, so in Ireland it seems to have been Edward's policy to make individual grants of English law to all those native Welshmen or Irishmen who might petition for the grant, and who were willing to pay the customary fee for a private charter. But the petition put forward by these prelates—and they were willing to back it with the threat of excommunication—shows that the grant of English law at this period was something that many Irishmen desired.

This loose system of government by a justiciar, with the aid of a council that was slowly coming to be differentiated into two types—one the small privy council in which permanent ministers predominated, the other a larger council which could be expanded at will—begins to pass slowly into a system in which " parliaments," that are at first not easily distinguished from " great councils," are summoned with increasing frequency. The chief practical difference between the two forms of assembly seems to have been that a smaller number were summoned to a council, and at shorter notice. Parliaments were never summoned as regularly in Ireland as they were in England, from the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the Middle Ages. Our records for sessions of the Irish parliaments are lamentably defective : none the less it is plain that, as might be expected, parliaments met less frequently

and were less representative here in Ireland than was the case in England. Anything like regular representation of the commons in parliament is not to be expected or found until well into the fourteenth century. When representatives of the commons do occasionally appear, they are as a rule summoned for some special purpose. For the most part they are passive spectators of the debates and decisions of the temporal and spiritual lords, who remain the core and centre of what is still no more than a modified form of a " great council."

Parliament met wherever it was convenient that parliament should meet. In England it met for the most part in Westminster during the latter half of the thirteenth century, though it met occasionally in London, Oxford, Northampton, Winchester and elsewhere. In Ireland the first recorded parliament—or perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say the first " great council " which is called a parliament in our contemporary sources—met at Castledermot in June 1264. We do not know where parliament met in the autumn of 1269. The next two recorded parliaments (1276-77) met at Kildare and Kilkenny : thereafter parliament meets most commonly at Dublin, though several parliaments are held at Kilkenny and a few elsewhere. The most unusual meeting-place was in April 1371 at Ballydoyle near Cashel ; and on this occasion the magnates protested that there was no more suitable building than a small chapel for the parliament's sessions. But the governor of Ireland, William of Windsor, was in urgent need of troops and money, and perforce he chose the nearest meeting-place to the scene of military operations. In Dublin parliament commonly met in the *frater* or refectory of Christ Church ; the representatives of the commons and the proctors of the lower clergy seem to have met apart for certain purposes in the cathedral itself. In Drogheda the Franciscan convent was sometimes used. But it mattered little, so long as the building was large enough and convenient for the number of those who answered the summons to attend.

Legislation was not as yet the main business of parliament in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It was still very much the function of the king and his council ; and some of the most far-reaching legislative acts took place in England, not in Ireland. As late as the middle of the fourteenth century such important statutes as the Statute of Labourers (1351) or the Ordinance of the Staple (1353) were held to be binding in Ireland without further ado. Edward II and Edward III issued two elaborate ordinances *de statu terre Hibernie* (1323, 1357) from England without any active concurrence of an Irish parliament ; the king needed no further power to make his will known in his lordship of Ireland. We get a glimpse of the effect of this close subordination on the work of practical administrators in two manuscript books which have come down to us from the fourteenth century. The Black Book of Christ

Church, Dublin, is in substance a large volume of miscellaneous contents, owned by an English Austin canon who ended his days as prior of Christ Church in Dublin (c. 1301-10). His book contains the text of a long series of English statutes, from Magna Carta in two of its forms to the more recent statutes of Edward I, almost all of which are here in their full text. The Red Book of Ossory was copied at Kilkenny soon after the death of Bishop Richard Ledred, c. 1360 ; it contains the text of *Circumspecte Agatis* and the Statute of Westminster II (1285), as well as the more recent Statute of Labourers (1351) and the " Ordinances and Statutes made by the Council and the King at Dublin and Kilkenny," at great councils held on 17 October and 31 October 1351.

Irish parliaments were more immediately concerned with the problem of taxation, and some of the most useful chapters in this book give us a much-needed clear statement of the system of taxation that can be traced here in Ireland from the reign of Henry II to the end of the medieval period. Apart from the normal feudal incidents, of which military service was the chief, taxation for general purposes was infrequent under John and Henry III ; the recent publication of an Irish pipe roll for 1212 lets us see that it followed closely on English levies. Local aids for local need seem to have been from the first a characteristic of Irish administration. In 1207, for example, John asked the barons of Leinster and Meath for aid towards the cost of fortifying Dublin ; and some ten or fifteen years later the service of the land of Walter de Lacy in Meath was applied to the cost of fortifying Delvin castle for the advantage of Richard de Tuit. Since the English conquest of Ireland was never complete, these local needs were endless, and the authors of this book note that local taxation of this kind for special needs remained a permanent characteristic of the Irish system.

A word must be said about the taxation of the clergy here in Ireland, since it affected the later development of parliamentary life. As compared with England, the bishops and abbots of the Irish church were from the first free from secular feudal burdens such as military service, which had been imposed on their English counterparts by William the Conqueror. The distinction is not due to any ancient difference in national law or custom, but corresponds with the development of feudal and ecclesiastical law in England (as in other countries of western Europe) during the twelfth century. The prelates of the Irish church were in fact beneficiaries of the great change that had come about in feudal theory during the long struggle that we know as the Investiture Contest. They were not treated as barons, liable in return for their enfeoffment with temporalities to the burden of military and other service. But direct taxation was another matter ; here the Irish clergy were faced with problems that were a constant source of anxiety to the clergy of England—and, for that matter, of France and other kingdoms. A king

who needed money could not easily resist the temptation of demanding frequent aids or subsidies from a clergy who were visibly possessed of large tracts of land. The clergy resisted at first, taking their stand on the privileged position that was theirs in canon law. When the kings found this obstacle troublesome to surmount, they had recourse to direct negotiations with the papacy ; and they were able, with increasing ease and frequency, to arrange for the levy of special subsidies, imposed with the sanction of papal authority on a reluctant, but obedient clergy.

Subsidies of this kind had to be assessed, and in England the slow development of the two provincial convocations of Canterbury and York owes its origin very largely to this need. Here in Ireland, where there were four ecclesiastical provinces and where no single province held the dominant position of Canterbury in England, there was no parallel development of convocation as distinct from parliament. To meet the practical needs of taxation, and for other causes, the lower clergy sent proctors from each diocese to parliament ; these proctors remained a characteristic feature of Irish parliaments down to the time of Henry VIII. Even in Canterbury, where the records are so much more abundant, it is not always easy to trace the distinct growth of convocation as compared with the less frequent, but more solemn assemblies of the clergy in provincial councils. Here in Ireland provincial councils were always infrequent ; but it is perhaps worth noting—though the problem is not discussed in this book—that there seems to be a remarkable parallelism between the known sequence of Dublin provincial councils (Dublin in 1320, Dublin in 1351-2 and Kilkenny in 1366) and some of the more important sessions of parliament in Dublin and Kilkenny.

The first occasional appearance of representatives of the commons, from town or county, in the Irish parliament is due to the need of gaining consent for some special, perhaps local levy ; but the regular appearance of these representatives does not become a normal feature of parliament in this country until the end of the fourteenth century. Presumably they stood with their speaker below the bar of the house, as at Westminster—but all details are lacking. In the parliament of 1420-21, for which we have better documentation than usual, we know that eleven counties and ten towns were represented by twenty-four knights and eighteen burgesses.

The disappearance of so large a proportion of the old parliamentary rolls makes the historian's task difficult. This is not the place to discuss in detail the account given here of the financial aspect of parliament's work in medieval Ireland. But the justiciary rolls of the reign of Edward I were preserved in the Irish Record Office before 1922, and it was indeed a good fortune that so competent a scholar as James Mills issued a full English calendar of these rolls in two large volumes, published in 1905 and 1914. Had these and other surviving rolls not been blown

sky-high in the summer of 1922, we should no doubt now have a similar calendar of the rolls for the reign of Edward II ; but we can at least be thankful for what Mills gave us before 1914. The reign of Edward I was a period when parliament, for a brief span of years, was the central court to which petitions came, both in England and Ireland, from every corner of the country ; and the official record of these petitions and of the decisions that were given by the king (or justiciar) in his high court of parliament throw a vivid light on medieval life in both countries. The authors of this volume have made a detailed study of this aspect of English parliamentary administration, and the account they give here of the parallel system in Ireland is of the highest interest. Apart from prelates and magnates, the petitioners to the Dublin parliaments of Edward I include the mayor and citizens of Dublin, the mayor and commonalty of Cork and of Drogheda, the lady of Wexford, the steward of Kilkenny, the Franciscan friars of Ross, a burgess of Drogheda and others less distinguished. We read in these records of local warfare against the king's enemies in Ireland, the garrisoning and provisioning of castles, the grants of oaks from the king's forest, questions of wardship and the partition of an inheritance among co-heiresses, the enrollment of charters, the grant of land, the rendering of fealty, the admission of a judge, the supplies of wine for the king, the alienation of abbey land. That plaints against injustice should be heard in parliament was part of the system demanded at the Oxford parliament of 1258. What little survives of our Irish records shows that the same system was in operation on this side of the Irish Sea. In England the mass of such work became so great by the end of Edward I's reign that it was transferred gradually to the royal courts of justice outside parliament. No doubt the same development took place here in Ireland : but few records have survived from the fourteenth century, and those that have survived are for the most part of an exceptional nature.

Probably the best known incident in the history of an Irish parliament in the fourteenth century is the famous episode in which the London-born Franciscan bishop of Ossory, Richard Ledred (or Leatherhead, as he is here less reverently styled !) carried his dispute with the sheriff of Kilkenny, Arnold le Poer, to a parliament that met in Dublin in 1324. We have what seems to be the bishop's own version of the story in a Latin narrative, which is so concerned with his personal grievances that it gives us a lop-sided view of a session which was brought to an end when Arnold emerged from a separate and private session of the council, with a message to parliament of which the bishop gives us an imperfect description. Parliament here meets in Dublin, and is plainly distinct from the council ; but the bishop is too preoccupied with his own part in the story to tell us whether any representatives of the commons were present. Most probably they were : but if they were, they seem to have

been no more than silent, possibly awe-struck spectators of a violent dispute between the bishop and the sheriff.

The absence of a full series of parliamentary rolls for this period is all the more regrettable as English rule in Ireland was at its height under the three Plantagenet kings Edward I, Edward II and Edward III.

We have a series of Irish statutes for the troubled reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV in the fifteenth century, but English rule had by then shrunk notably in vigour and extent, and the impression conveyed by these statutes is of a small community struggling for continued existence within the narrow limits of the Pale. There was, of course, a limit to English rule in the mid-fourteenth century ; but its extent is not so easy to determine. The chance survival of some pipe rolls for the reign of Edward I and Edward II makes it possible to calculate the districts in which English control was sufficiently effective to ensure, for example, the seizure of temporalities in a diocese on the death of a bishop. A somewhat more accurate method of estimating the true position can be found in the examination of some lists of the spiritual and temporal peers who were summoned to parliament in the latter portion of the fourteenth century. The maximum number of spiritual peers occurs in 1380, when twenty-eight writs of summons were issued to bishops and abbots. The dioceses which were omitted from this summons include Dromore, Achonry, Annaghdown and Kilfenora. But writs of summons were issued to such outlying dioceses as Raphoe, Killala or Ardfert. How many of these bishops answered the summons is a very different matter. A few notices of fines for non-attendance have survived, but they are not sufficiently numerous to make any certain basis for calculation. At the important parliament which met at Kilkenny in 1366 the three archbishops of Dublin, Cashel and Tuam were present, with the bishops of Leighlin and Ossory from the province of Dublin, and the bishops of Cloyne, Killaloe, Lismore and Waterford from the province of Cashel. All the bishops of the two provinces of Armagh and Tuam seem to have been absent and it may be noted that the archbishop of Tuam, who was present, had recently been translated from Cashel to Tuam.

Quite obviously, the effective influence of these Anglo-Irish parliaments was very much less than might appear from a literal interpretation of such records of their proceedings as have survived. An analysis of the known yield of some forms of exceptional taxation leads to a very similar conclusion : the strong current of English administrative influence in Ireland, which characterizes the reigns of Edward I and Edward II at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, begins to fail in the reign of Edward III, and grows progressively weaker in the following century. One obvious cause of this decline is the growing preoccupation of English kings with the financial burden of incessant

French wars. The victory of Crecy, the exploits of the Black Prince, the glory of Agincourt : these have left their mark on English national tradition, but at a heavy price. The movement of Irish resurgence, which is familiar to all Irish schoolboys as the Gaelic Revival of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was largely a by-product of the grievous error committed by a succession of over-ambitious English kings, who began and continued the Hundred Years War. Yet there is more to it than that. The evidence of a true Gaelic Revival is strong and authentic : you have only to read the latter portion of the Annals of Ulster, or the fragmentary Annals which Duald MacFirbis translated for Sir James Ware in Dublin just before Ware's death in 1666, to feel the pulsation of a native Irish life which seems to be worlds apart from contemporary English manners and customs. The famous Statute of Kilkenny is after all no more than a desperate effort on the part of the English government in Ireland to stem a tide that was fast growing too strong for their powers of resistance. The Anglo-Irish parliament, which had once seemed likely to establish itself as a centre of government and administrative progress, reveals more and more clearly its essentially alien character. Life in Ireland—or, to speak more accurately, life in Ulster, Connacht, parts of Munster and Leinster—gains new vitality from the infusion of new blood; but it is organized in a Gaelic, not an Anglo-Norman style.

There seems to be a curious fatality in the destruction of Irish documentary material just where it may be most needed to throw light on a period of exceptional interest or importance. The authors of this book point out that the forty years c. 1382-1420 have left us little or no documentary evidence as to the development of parliamentary forms. Yet the parliament which emerges after 1420, when we have once more a fairly abundant documentation, is an assembly which has acquired some very definite characteristics that were not certainly present in the parliaments known to us before 1380. Representatives of the commons and the lower clergy are now necessary elements in every duly constituted parliament ; separate functions are now recognised for lords and commons ; and the peers of the upper house are now a small and select body summoned by special writ. The familiar title " lords spiritual and temporal " takes the place of such looser descriptive phrases as " prelates, nobles and magnates " or " prelates, earls, barons and other magnates." Parliament has taken on a new form, which it will maintain until the important modifications that were made by Poynings' Law and the policy of the Tudor kings. It is this Irish parliament of the fifteenth century that we can see in action in the extant Irish statute-rolls of Henry VI and Edward IV. Students will find a very detailed description of its constitution and functions in those chapters of this volume which deal with the last phase of the medieval parliament, and with the privy council and taxation in the fifteenth century.

From the year 1420 onwards it is possible to describe in very much more accurate detail the procedure and effective work of the fifteenth century Irish parliaments. There are many gaps in the series, but enough of the old parliamentary rolls survived (down to 1922) for us to watch the system at work in its last medieval phase. The student who looks through the published volumes of *Statute Rolls of the Parliaments of Ireland* will certainly be disconcerted by the immense amount of petty legislation arising from private petitions, or from petitions that have been presented by the commons on behalf of some private petitioner. Why so much petty business came before the parliaments of the fifteenth century is explained by the almost complete breakdown of the ordinary courts of law in what was left of English rule in Ireland. " The true liege people in these parts," so runs the complaint of the Englishry of Kildare in 1454, " dare nor may not appear in the king's courts in Ireland, nor any other of the true liege people there . . . for dread to be slain, taken or spoiled of their goods." Direct appeal to the king's high court in parliament was a last desperate resource for those who still looked to the king's law for redress ; but in fact it was Ormonde or Kildare who ruled the land. We are at the lowest ebb of English fortunes in this country.

Legislation of a permanent character was but a small part of the work done in these Irish parliaments ; and one of the most useful lessons to be drawn from the last chapters of this volume is the universal acceptance, throughout the fifteenth century, of the old medieval view that legislation was in the last resort the prerogative of the Crown. Later patriotic orators of the Anglo-Irish parliament in the eighteenth century did their best to represent Poynings' Law as an unconstitutional denial of the ancient right of an Irish parliament to legislate for this country without the control of an English executive or an English parliament. It is true that in 1460, at a time when the Irish feud between Kildare and Talbot had become involved in the contemporary English feud between Lancaster and York, an Irish parliament meeting in Drogheda declared that Ireland was " a separate body corporate . . . enfranchised from the operation of any specific law of the realm of England, save only those laws admitted, accepted, approved and proclaimed by the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons in great council or parliament " ; and there are one or two other signs that here in Ireland a new consciousness of separate Irish interests was beginning to make itself felt in parliamentary action. But the lieutenant of Ireland in 1460 was the Duke of York, who had taken refuge in this country from his Lancastrian rivals ; and this declaration of an apparently patriotic Irish parliament was designed primarily to safeguard the Yorkist lieutenant from his enemies across the sea. All through the century it is possible to trace the clear assumption that the king of England can direct at will the proceedings of his Irish parliament ; and that he constantly did so.

The increasing weakness of the Crown, and the recent open challenge from Lambert Simnel, made it advisable for Henry VII to secure his control over the proceedings of an assembly that in 1487 had in fact given full support to a pretender who had sought to challenge the new Tudor king from Dublin. None the less—though the immediate occasion of this restriction on the freedom of legislation by the Irish parliament was, so far as we can now judge, limited to these temporary and practical considerations—Poynings' Law is a convenient dividing line in the long history of Irish institutions ; and the authors of this book have wisely decided to end their story at this point. They have thus spared themselves the necessity of contrasting the Dublin parliament of Henry VIII with contemporary English parliaments, and of noting the complete failure of parliament in this country to make itself, as it had become in England, a boyd that was fully representative of a nation's social and political life. Even at the height of English power in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the parliaments that met in Dublin, Drogheda or Kilkenny were never representative of more then the new English lords and settlers in this country ; the contrast between Irish and English life, Irish and English law, was too sharp for a fusion to be possible. The success of the Gaelic resurgence in the fourteenth century had weakened English rule to such a degree that the Dublin parliaments of the fifteenth century seem to be dealing with a pitifully weak and struggling and inefficiently governed community.

Yet one underlying fact must not be overlooked. English rule in Ireland was weak and impoverished and limited to no more than four counties ; but the organs of a stronger government were still there, and can be seen at work even in the records of a parliament that seems to have lost almost all its former authority. The new policy of Henry VII was no more than a brief experiment, which that thrifty king abandoned for the very good reason that he had not money enough to do better. His son was more ambitious ; he was served by able and ambitious men who had the advantage of finding here in Dublin the essential organs of a government that had once been strong, and that could once more be made effective at the cost of heavy fighting. There is thus a true continuity between the medieval Irish parliament which is so well described in this fine volume, and the parliament which made such fateful decisions under Henry VIII. But the new parliaments of the Tudor monarchs were very different from their contemporary counterparts in England. They were in no true sense Irish parliaments in the modern sense of those two words ; they were not Irish as the parliaments of Henry VIII and Elizabeth were English. This failure of parliament to become a fully representative national assembly in this country is a truth writ large in the history of Anglo-Irish relations throughout the past four hundred years.

AUBREY GWYNN

Reviews

SACRED SCRIPTURE

A CATHOLIC COMMENTARY ON HOLY SCRIPTURE. Edinburgh and London : Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1953. Pp. xvi+1312. 12 Maps. 84s.

RENEWED interest in the study of the Bible has been a characteristic of Catholic thought since the end of the last century. A great number of factors has contributed to the production of this effect, not the least being the archaeological discoveries in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine, which have revealed to us the material and cultural background of the ancient Orient, enabling us to decipher its languages, and read and understand its literature and historical records. The Church then found herself faced with a double duty. On the negative side she had to defend the Bible from attacks based on this new knowledge, and on the positive side to exploit this new material to give a fuller and clearer explanation of the sacred text ; a formidable task but one of exceptional interest and one which she could not afford to neglect if she were to present her eternal message to this generation in a worthy manner.

In order to present to Catholic readers of the Bible some of the results of modern critical scholarship the Catholic Biblical Association obtained the assistance of 43 collaborators and the co-operation of the great publishing house of Nelson. The result is an enormous quarto volume of over 1,300 closely printed double column pages which contain more than a million and a half words, the equivalent of ten ordinary octavo books of 300 pages each. This work almost constitutes a small library in itself. The publishers have been able to keep the price as low as four guineas by printing a very large edition in the belief that the Catholic public had long been awaiting just such a work ; and from preliminary reports it would seem that they will not be disappointed.

This volume consists of two main elements : a collection of thirty-four introductory essays and a series of brief commentaries on each of the books of the Bible. The introductory essays treat of such subjects as the Formation and History of the Canon of Scripture, the Literary Characteristics of the Bible, the Religion of Israel, Archaeology and the Bible, the Jewish World in New Testament Times, and similar subjects. Many of the essays in this series have been written by scholars who have given long years of research to the subjects on which they write. Probably the best example of this is provided by the article of the late Hugh Pope, O.P., revised by Father Sebastian Bullough, O.P., on The History of the Rheims-Douay Version. Since this article was written the researches of Fathers Pope and Bullough have been published in full in a volume entitled *English Versions of the Bible.* It is only by studying this immensely important book that one can realize the erudition which underlies the few pages consecrated to the history of the Rheims-Douay version in the Commentary we are reviewing.

A short section of great importance is that in which Father R. Dyson, S.J., discusses the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch. Until recent

times the traditional catholic position has always been that Moses was the author of the books of *Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy.* In the last century rationalist scholars adopted the very radical position that the Bible completely misrepresented the career and teaching of Moses. Monotheism, they said, simply does not occur among primitive peoples ; hence those texts are not to be believed which narrate how Moses organized and unified the twelve tribes of Israel on the basis of a Covenant by which they bound themselves to worship the true God and refrain from idolatry. According to this school monotheism was introduced into Israel by the prophets in the eighth century B.C. who wished to disguise its novelty by projecting it into the past and by describing Moses and the patriarchs as monotheists and by representing the Pentateuch, which they themselves had composed, as the work of Moses himself.

Such a position was clearly in conflict with the Catholic doctrine of the inerrancy of the Bible and in 1906 the Biblical Commission decided to strike at the root of the question by requiring Catholics to hold that the Pentateuch was substantially the work of Moses. By now the radical historical position has been generally abandoned and most scholars, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, admit the substantial accuracy of the accounts of the life and times of Moses and the patriarchs. The question of Moses as the author of the Pentateuch is a little more complicated. Catholic authors usually like to introduce some distinctions into this proposition and interpret the decree of the Biblical Commission rather broadly. The Holy See has given definite though very guarded approval to this attitude and, in particular, Pope Pius XII has emphatically maintained that many of the problems connected with the Pentateuch are still far from being finally solved. Father Dyson here gives some suggestions which will serve as a working hypothesis for Catholic students and perhaps, too, for Catholic professors in their personal reading and researches. Father Dyson's well-known sound judgment as well as his high official position will make his remarks of great value. He is certainly working along the lines indicated by the Holy See when he makes these moderate and constructive suggestions.

The greater part of the volume is taken up with a verse by verse commentary on each of the books of the Bible. These commentaries have been well planned and reproduce a uniform pattern. First there comes a brief exposition of the content of the book in question and of any special problem which it raises. Then, where necessary, alterations of the Douay version are suggested in order to show the reader the precise meaning of the original texts. Finally the commentator gives a short explanation of the literary, historical or theological points which each verse or group of verses suggests.

There is perhaps a certain unevenness in the quality of the various individual commentaries and different readers would arrange them in different orders of merit. Since it is quite impossible to refer to each contribution individually the following points have been selected for comment as being most likely to be of general interest.

The commentary on the Book of Genesis has been entrusted to Father Sutcliffe, S.J., and his treatment of Chapters 1—11 is possibly the most useful

section of the whole volume. Catholics so often ask what must one believe about the creation of the world, the sin of Adam and Eve, the Flood, the age of Mathuselah and the other patriarchs and so on. Here we have on these interesting points the guidance of a thoughtful scholar and experienced teacher. No one reading these pages will fail to notice how the mind of the Church on these points has evolved during the past fifty years.

Fifty years ago the main interest of Catholic biblical scholars was to show that there was no conflict between the Bible and the certain findings of modern scientific enquiry. With reference to the first chapter of Genesis this movement took the form of finding a remarkable similarity between the order in which the creation of the world is described in Genesis and the order postulated by contemporary science for the evolution of the world as we know it from a primitive gaseous nebula.

Such well intentioned attempts to effect a reconciliation between the Bible and modern physical science are however open to serious objection. In the first place God is said to have made light and darkness on the first day and the sun and moon and stars on the fourth. This should have immediately warned scholars that here we have not a scientific account of the precise order in which the various elements of the physical world were called into existence by God. Again it is now established that the Hebrew word for " day " can only mean a day of 12 or 24 hours precisely as in English. This renders impossible any harmonization of the Bible with science based on the notion that the " days " of Genesis were really indefinitely long geological periods. For these and other reasons it must be conceded that the author of the book of Genesis represents the creation of the world as having taken place in six days of 24 hours and in an order which is clearly impossible. The question of the inerrancy of the Bible is to be met by asking what exactly the author wished to convey to his readers by this representation. Father Sutcliffe is merely summarizing the best modern Catholic opinion on this point when he writes that the six days of Genesis are " the schematic and artistic presentation of the truth that the world belongs to God that it was made by Him and designed by Him precisely as the home of man." One could perhaps develop a little more fully the theological teaching which is stated or implied in the first chapter of Genesis ; but this is of secondary importance here. The essential point is that the Bible is not a text book of science but of religion and theology. It is quite useless to look in the Bible for divinely guaranteed teaching on scientific subjects because such scientific teaching simply is not there. It would be a grave fault of method to seek to interpret the words of Scripture as confirming or denying any scientific theory whatever because the authors of the various books of the Bible had no intention of confirming or denying any scientific theory ; and the words they wrote must not be made to mean more than the authors themselves intended to affirm by them.

Catholic scholars are therefore no longer very much concerned about the old accusation that the Bible is in conflict with science. This should not be taken to mean that no problems at all remain. But the problems arise for the most part not from science but from history. If it be certain that the authors of the books of the Bible did not intend to teach natural science,

it is equally certain that they did intend to teach history and therefore their work can and must be compared with the results of modern historical investigation.

The question has often been asked what is the value of the historical books of the Old Testament if we prescind from their inspiration and inerrancy and regard them merely as historical documents coming down to us from remote times? It is quite easy to answer this question. We now have much material from Egypt and Mesopotamia which we can compare with the historical books of the Bible and it is now widely admitted by independent scholars that apart from the classical authors of Greece, no ancient people had such reliable and penetrating historians as the Jews. Egypt and Mesopotamia had their court and temple annals but these were often inaccurate and sometimes deliberately falsified; at best they merely record events and the dates at which they occurred.

The Jewish historians had at least as good sources at their disposal such as the annals of the courts of Jerusalem and Samaria to which they often explicitly refer; and on the basis of these sources they composed history of a very high quality describing the events which they selected for treatment in such a way as to make clear their significance at the time at which they occurred and their role in the general process of the history of their people. Nothing comparable had been attempted before in the ancient Orient and it was not until the time of Thucydides that their achievement was surpassed. Father K. Smyth, S.J., is merely stating, or perhaps understating, the truth when he writes in his commentary on the third and fourth books of Kings: "Where the facts can be checked by 'profane' sources they are found to be in accord with the general history of the period. . . . For the rest of the facts, the seriousness of the author and his constant appeal to documents by which his work could be checked, must be sufficient guarantees of his reliability."

If it be asked how it came to pass that history of such exceptional quality should appear in the sacred books of the Jews, the answer is fairly simple. The Jews regarded the history of their people as a sacred thing and a continual revelation of the nature, attributes, and providence of God. Hence the great events of the past were manifestations of God as truly as the appearances on Mt. Sinai. The Jews therefore learned to treasure the memory of past events; and penetrating reflection on good sources will necessarily produce good history. Many difficulties still remain but, apart altogether from our conviction that the Jewish historians were inspired by God, we have excellent natural reasons for believing that these difficulties will be satisfactorily solved once we have succeeded in correctly interpreting both the sacred historians and the 'profane' sources with which at times they seem to be in conflict.

The section of the Old Testament which causes most difficulty to the ordinary reader is that which consists of the prophetic books. This is due partly to the essential obscurity of many of the messianic prophecies and partly to the fact that most of these books were originally composed in verse. It is therefore very gratifying to see that the commentaries on two of the most important and difficult of the prophets are particularly successful; viz. that by Father E. Power, S.J., on Isaiah and that by Mgr. Saydon on Daniel.

Sureness and clarity of exposition have always characterized Father Power's work throughout his long teaching career of nearly forty years. It is not therefore surprising to find these qualities in his simple but masterly handling of the Emmanuel prophecy in Isaiah ch. VII and the Servant of Yahweh Songs. On both these prophecies there has been a considerable amount of controversy in recent years, to which Father Power himself has made some important contributions. Here he provides us with an excellent introduction to the problems involved and at the same time a very good summary of the conclusions which may now be regarded as highly probable.

Mgr. Saydon was faced with some very difficult questions when composing his commentary on the Book of Daniel ; such as the date at which the book was written, the historical nature of the events described, the apocalyptic symbolism of some of the later chapters, the precise manner in which the prophecy of the seventy weeks of years is to be interpreted and the meaning of the title " Son of Man " which our Lord so often applied to himself and which is clearly taken from ch. XI of this book. Mgr. Saydon treats these and other questions with delicacy and skill following a carefully thought out course between the radical criticism which was so common fifty years ago and the undoubtedly excessive conservatism which Catholic authors so often show when discussing this very difficult book. Here we have what is certainly the most important treatment of the Book of Daniel by a Catholic author which has appeared for many years. It will be of use to teachers and specialists as well as to the ordinary reader.

The high quality noted in the Old Testament sections of this work is fully maintained in the pages dealing with the New Testament ; as will be clear to anyone reading, e.g. the commentary on the Gospel of St. John by Father Leonard, C.M., or that on the Epistle to the Romans by Father Theissen.

The volume concludes with an enormous index of nearly a hundred pages and twelve well drawn maps. Contributors, editors and publishers are surely to be congratulated on the appearance of a book which is in the strictest sense of the term epoch-making.

PATRICK SIMPSON

THE BOOK OF PSALMS. Translated from a critically revised Hebrew text with a Commentary. By Monsignor Edward J. Kissane, D.D., D.Litt., President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Vol. 1 : Ps. 1–72. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1953. Pp. xlvii, 319. 30s.

MONSIGNOR KISSANE'S energy is astounding. We are already indebted to him for excellent commentaries on the Book of Job and the Book of Isaias. And now, notwithstanding his multiple occupations as President of a great centre of higher ecclesiastical studies and priestly formation, he presents us with the first volume of a critical and exegetical commentary on the Book of Psalms. We wonder how he has found time for the considerable amount of research involved in the production of such a volume and we thank him very sincerely for this third instalment of his invaluable pioneer work in the scientific study of the Old Testament in this country.

The Book of Psalms is the most attractive of all the books of the Old Testament. It gives us a summary of what we most desire to know about

the ancient Hebrews, their religious beliefs and their pious meditations and practices during the long period between the reign of David and the conquest of Alexander. The religious spirit revealed in the Psalms is unique in antiquity and so admirably adapted to the piety of all ages that it is the chief means which the Church prescribes to preserve and increase the piety of her ministers. Our present Holy Father has considerably facilitated the devout recitation of the Psalter by providing us with a much more intelligible Latin version based on the original Hebrew text. But a good translation goes only part of the way in explaining the meaning of the Psalms. A good commentary is also necessary to enlighten us on their Hebrew background. Thus Monsignor Kissane's commentary, based on the same inspired Hebrew text, is particularly opportune and helpful. We warmly recommend it to all English-speaking priests who wish to recite their office intelligently and devoutly. *Psallite sapienter.*

In the preface we read : " The present work was undertaken to meet the needs of students of theology . . . and the substance of it is based on lectures given to my classes in Maynooth over a long period . . . My chief aim has been twofold, to get back to the original text as it left the hands of the original writer and to interpret this in the light of the religious background of Israel as revealed in the Psalter and in the Old Testament as a whole." In its present form the book suggests more a research work than a class manual. In our present crowded curriculum few ecclesiastical students would have a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to follow profitably the subtle textual discussions and some matters are omitted, e.g. the decrees of the Biblical Commission, which students would be expected to know. The chief end of a commentary is however the clear and correct interpretation of the original text. From this point of view Monsignor Kissane's commentary is very satisfactory. His presentation of the problems encountered in the study of the Psalms is clear and concise and his profound knowledge of the language, history and religion of the Hebrews enables him to offer solutions which are occasionally disputable but generally correct and always well supported by arguments. It should be noted here that the Book of Psalms offers more scope for individual points of view, more ground for difference of opinion, than other Old Testament books. It consists of many relatively short compositions written by different authors at different periods and thus lacks the unity of date and authorship which facilitates the work of the commentator.

The commentary begins with a succinct but generally adequate introduction in which the general character, content, titles, authorship, text and versions and metrical structure of the Psalms are treated. The messianism of the Psalms is perhaps too briefly discussed in a sub-section entitled Prophetic Psalms. The Davidic authorship of many psalms is defended and Maccabean psalms are not admitted. The section on metrical structure will be found very helpful and subsequent efforts to determine the strophic structure of the individual psalms must be generally commended, all the more so as the Roman Psalter is defective on this point. It may be doubted, however, whether the strophical arrangement is always as symmetrical in our present Psalter as Monsignor Kissane supposes. He makes the unsymmetrical Ps. 54 (Vg. 53) symmetrical by an original strophical arrangement which

obliges him to render the Hebrew causal particle by *though* when the Psalmist prays for help *because* his enemies have surrounded him. He establishes symmetry in Ps. 24 (Vg. 23) by means of verses of three accents in vv. 8 and 10 after informing us in his introduction that every verse must have at least four accents. He transfers verses from their proper place at the end of one strophe to the beginning of the next Ps. 19 (Vg. 18) 11 and from the beginning of one strophe to the end of the preceding one Ps. 40 (Vg. 39), 10 ab. There is room for difference of opinion in this matter but the sense is the great guide and should always be respected.

In the select bibliography which follows the introduction there is one important omission : E. Podechard, p.s.s., *Le Psautier, ps. 1–75. Vol. I : Traduction litterale et explication historique. Vol. II : Notes critiques.* Lyon. Facultés Catholiques, 1949. This is the most stimulating commentary on the psalms published in recent years. One disagrees at times with the author's conclusions but always admires and appreciates his vast erudition and profound critical sense.

In the commentary proper each psalm has its special introduction, translation and comment. The introduction indicates the subject, structure and date of the psalm and gives a summary of its content. The translation is literal, sometimes too literal as in Ps. 4 : 2 where " God of my righteousness " should be " my righteous God." Much attention is given to the restoration of the original text in corrupt passages. The author has a good critical sense and suggests a number of very attractive emendations. But not all his corrections of the Hebrew text can be accepted. In Ps. 22 (Vg. 21), 17c, he suggests " wasted away " instead of the usual " dug " or " pierced." Here the former reading is an ingenious conjecture but unlike the latter gets no support from the Versions. It supposes also that the Psalmist is suffering from sickness not from physical maltreatment as is generally believed. Moreover the resemblance of the sufferer in this psalm to the suffering servant of Isaias suggests at least that the psalm is directly Messianic. In Ps. 1 : 6 Monsignor Kissane alters " righteous " to " sinners " supposing that the whole verse depicts the fate of the wicked. It really contrasts the way of the just and the way of sinners. God knows the way of the just, i.e. he guides them, approves them and will reward them, but the way of the wicked perishes, *i.e.* leads to perdition. In Ps. 72 : 16 he reads " May he be like a palm-tree in the land on the top of the mountains " where the M.T. has " There will be abundance of corn in the land on the top of the mountains," a clear indication of Messianic times when barren regions become fertile. The word for " abundance " only occurs here but the root from which it is derived has that meaning in Aramaic and post-biblical Hebrew. The word for " corn " elsewhere indicates not growing but gathered corn, but its more common synonym, *hittah* wheat, is used indiscriminately for growing and gathered corn. The conjecture eliminates a Messianic detail in the psalm.

A feature of the commentary which invites criticism is the treatment of some Messianic psalms. Monsignor Kissane does not inform us that the judgment in Ps. 1 : 5 is the eschatological judgment which according to Hebrew ideas would immediately precede the establishment of the Messianic kingdom on earth. The company or assembly of the just indicates those who

have withstood that judgment and inherit the Messianic kingdom. From their company the wicked who failed in the judgment will be excluded.

In discussing the Messianic prophecy of the resurrection in Ps. 16 (Vg. 15) 10 Monsignor Kissane ignores the arguments of the inspired Apostles, St. Peter (Acts 2 : 25–32) and St. Paul (Acts 13 : 35–37), which help us to understand this difficult verse. They argue in the first place that the verse cannot refer to David, the author of the psalm, and must therefore refer to the Messias, in whose person he speaks. Monsignor Kissane holds, on the contrary, that the whole psalm can be interpreted in some sense of David. In the second place their main argument for the prophecy of the resurrection is based on the second member of the verse : " Thou wilt not let thy holy one see (*i.e.* experience as in Jer. 20 : 18) corruption." St. Paul's argument is that David saw corruption but Christ did not see corruption. As man is not immortal, exemption from corruption implies resurrection after death. Monsignor Kissane interprets the whole verse as indicating salvation from a premature death. But that only postpones corruption. It does not exempt one from it. The exemption from corruption in the prophecy is absolute and admits of no time limit. The first member of the verse : " Thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol " can be understood in two ways, either of the descent to Sheol of a living person or of the abandonment to Sheol of one already dead. The second interpretation alone harmonizes with that of the second member.

Ps. 72 (Vg. 71) according to Monsignor Kissane is not directly but typically Messianic and was addressed by a court poet to a reigning monarch who was a type of the Messias. He affirms that " there is nothing in the psalm which cannot be understood of an historical King of Judah." And yet the king whose reign is described will be endowed with judgment and righteousness —Messianic attributes (Is. 9 : 7 ; 16 : 5 ; 28 : 17 ; Jer. 23 : 5). His reign will be signalized by justice and peace—Messianic characteristics. It will last as long as the sun and moon appear in the heavens—Messianic duration. It will extend over all the known world—Messianic universalism. Oppression of the poor and lowly shall cease—Messianic solicitude. Corn will grow abundantly on the barren mountain-tops—Messianic prosperity. Surely it is more natural to conclude with Pére Tournay, O.P., in *La Bible de Jérusalem* that " the author, drawing his inspiration from the prophetic oracles, expresses the wishes of Israel with regard to the ideal king of the future." It is argued that the Babylonians indulged in similar extravagances when they addressed their monarchs. But they divinised their kings who were powerful enough to aspire to universal dominion. It was quite otherwise in Israel. Ps. 45 (Vg. 44) which is typically Messianic shows how far a Hebrew court poet could go in praising a living monarch. He would not emphatically ascribe to him unlimited length of reign and world-wide dominion.

It is difficult to agree with Monsignor Kissane when he assigns an exilic date to the very beautiful Ps. 42–43 (Vg. 41–42) and thus needlessly complicates its interpretation. An exile, residing apparently in the region of Hermon and the Upper Jordan, where by the way Absalom also lived in exile after he had slain Amnon, bewails his exclusion from the temple services

in Jerusalem in which he formerly delighted and begs earnestly in the concluding verses of the psalm—the Introibo of the Mass—to be enabled to return to Jerusalem and participate again in the worship of the sanctuary. To quote Herkenne in the Bonn Commentary, " The psalm cannot be exilic because 42 : 3 and 43 : 3 f. presuppose the existence of the sanctuary." There is, moreover, nothing in the language of the psalm which is not pre-exilic according to so strict a critic as Podechard. To make the psalm the composition of an exile in Babylonia Monsignor Kissane has to explain away the local references to Hermon and the Upper Jordan in v. 7 and his efforts which include the alteration of " from " in the translation to " far from " in the commentary obscure the obvious interpretation of the text.

These critical remarks on disputable points of minor importance in no way detract from the general excellence of Monsignor Kissane's commentary which we warmly and unreservedly recommend to all lovers of the Psalter.

E. Power

ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE. By Hugh Pope, O.P. Revised and amplified by Sebastian Bullough, O.P. London : B. Herder. 1952. Pp. x+788. 75s.

The late Father Hugh Pope, O.P., devoted the last years of his life to the study of the translations of the Bible into English and the various editions through which these translations passed. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to the translations which appeared between the time of Wycliffe and the publication of the Authorised Version in 1611. This section will perhaps be less interesting to some readers than that which deals with the Douay version, which is fully studied from a number of points of view.

First, we have the circumstances of its preparation. The name Douay Version is inaccurate. The entire translation was made at the English College at Rheims, the only connection it has with Douay being the rather unimportant fact that financial considerations made it necessary to delay the publication of the Old Testament part, which later appeared at Douay. The older practice was to refer to it as the Rheims or Rhemish version. The title-page of the first edition informs us that it was " faithfully translated into English out of the authentical Latin diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke and other editions in divers languages."

It is a curious fact that the very names of the scholars who performed this great task of giving the English Catholics a Bible in the vernacular are almost completely unknown to Catholics of our times. They were Gregory Martin, Richard Bristow and William Reynolds, all three Oxford men of very high academical standing before they were obliged to leave England on account of their religion, Bristow and Reynolds being converts. They were therefore fully acquainted with the best Renaissance scholarship, Martin, who was tutor to the sons of the Duke of Norfolk, being particularly eminent. The translation was equipped with elaborate notes composed with a moderation which was only too rare in those days of violent controversy.

The Translation was finally published in its entirety in 1609 and was certainly used by the translators of King James' Authorised Version. From it the Authorised Version derived a number of latinisms which have eventually found their way into current English usage. It is now admitted that on some points the Douay version is definitely superior to the Authorised.

A second point of great interest is the study of the various alterations which have been introduced into the text of the original translation, particularly by Challoner, who revised the New Testament no less than five times. The text of our modern Bibles is derived mainly from Challoner's first and third revisions.

Finally, there is the questions of the numerous editions of the Bible which have appeared here, in England and in America, and the gradual formation of the text they print. We can see the editors at work taking the text of some previous edition, reproducing it rather uncritically with its errors and misprints and at the same time introducing variant readings from some other edition or from one or other of Challoner's revisions and even inserting some conjectural emendations of their own ; a fascinating study showing modern editors possessed of the same mentality and adopting the same processes as the scribes of classical and medieval times, to whom we owe the manuscripts which have preserved our Bible for us through the ages between the death of the inspired authors and the invention of printing.

Unfortunately this very interesting book is published at 75s.

PATRICK SIMPSON

NEWMAN ON EDUCATION

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN: UNIVERSITY SKETCHES. Edited by Michael Tierney. Dublin: Brown and Nolan. 1952. 12s. 6d.

THE President of University College, Dublin, gives us in this convenient form a reprint of twenty essays which Newman wrote for the *Catholic University Gazette* in 1854-55, and which he published as a single volume in 1856 under the title, chosen by himself, " The Office and Work of Universities." That title was altered to " The Rise and Progress of Universities " in the reprint which Newman saw through the press in 1870 as part of the third volume of his *Historical Sketches ;* and the present title, which Dr. Tierney uses, seems to have appeared for the first time in a re-issue of these essays, printed in the Scott Library in 1902. Newman's first title expresses very clearly his purpose in writing these essays. In his own words, that purpose was " to indoctrinate the Irish people in the Idea of a University " ; and it is precisely in this way that Newman has rendered his most lasting service to the people of this country. No man has done more than he to set before us an ideal towards which we have, for the past hundred years, with greater or less success continuously striven. The history of University College, Dublin,

during those hundred years is in fact an object-lesson in the hopes and disappointments, needs and methods, difficulties and opportunities of those who have striven to realize in practice Newman's high ideal.

One point made by Dr. Tierney in his useful Introduction to these *University Sketches* deserves special notice. In his *Discourses* Newman had set forth his theory of " The Idea of a University " in a form that was abstract and difficult, and that seemed to have little relevance to the life and human needs of the average student. In these less formal essays Newman is primarily concerned with the more practical aspects of University life, and the essays are indeed most instructive as a link between the abstract theory of the *Discourses* and Newman's own practical work as Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland. The Rector, as is well known, was not content to sit in his office, planning and organizing. He had with him a small group of resident students in his house at No. 6 Harcourt Street, and his annual reports make it very plain that he attached great importance to the moral influence that was to be found in the discipline and personal direction associated with residential Universities. Several of these essays on " The Office and Work of Universities " lay stress on this aspect of University life—for Newman is not writing them as a student of history, but very much more as one who is seeking lessons for the present in the long story of the past. University College, Dublin, has now on an average more than three thousand students on its annual roll, and the problem of giving this large number a full share in the social and intellectual life of the College has not been lessened by this rapid growth in numbers. Here, as in so much else, Newman has something to say that we shall do well to keep in mind during the years that lie ahead. Dr. Tierney points out in his Introduction that Newman was wrong in believing that colleges were in historic fact older than the universities ; but it is reassuring to find the President of University College so insistent on the need of remembering what he calls the essence of Newman's doctrine : " that colleges stand to the university as discipline stands to influence, and give it its integrity as lectures and the attractive power of great personalities give it its essence."

AUBREY GWYNN

THE IDEA OF A LIBERAL EDUCATION. A Selection from the Works of Newman. Edited by Henry Tristram, of the Oratory, Birmingham. London : Harrap. 1952. Pp. 220.

THE attention that has been directed recently to Newman's *Idea of a University* is not due solely to the incidence of the centenary of its publication. The theme with which it deals, the relative values of various kinds of mental culture, was never more vital than to-day. It was not a new theme in Newman's time. Every system of thought has aimed not merely at analysing the various processes of the mind, but also at evaluating the kinds and degrees of perfection which they produce in the mind. Newman's treatment of this subject would have been noteworthy in any event, but it was particularly fortunate that he applied himself to it at a time when clear thinking on it had been rendered urgently necessary by the development of three characteristics in education. The first was the spread of formal education, with a resultant multiplication of the number of persons intimately concerned with

its aims. The second was excessive specialization, caused partly by the growing content of all sciences, partly by the influence of competition. The third was the technological bias produced by the advance of the physical sciences and their increased application to the satisfaction of man's material needs. It is obvious that to-day these features of education are so strongly marked as to render more urgent than ever the old problems of who should be taught what, and why.

Newman dealt with these problems *ex professo* in three works, of which the best-known is his *Idea of a University,* the lectures which he planned, and in part delivered, as a send-off for the Catholic University of Ireland in 1852. The other two are the collection of lectures and essays addressed to the members of the University which are now known as the second part of the *Idea of a University,* and the papers on the *Rise and Progress of Universities* originally contributed to the *University Gazette,* and now forming the first part of the third volume of *Historical Sketches.* But it must be noted that the theme of mental culture enters into many of Newman's writings also. It is, therefore, one of the merits of Father Henry Tristram's selection that, while it draws mainly on the three works mentioned, it gives sufficient excerpts from others to warn the reader that, for a full understanding of Newman's mind on " The Idea of a Liberal Education," he must go further afield.

The editor's name is sufficient guarantee that the selection is skilfully made. Newman is a writer whom it is hard to condense, but Father Tristram succeeds in choosing passages which isolate the essential thoughts, yet at the same time convey a sense of the stature of the entire works from which they are taken. There might, at first sight, seem to be ground for criticism in the fact that none of the passages chosen deals with the problem of the relations between religious and secular science, which was the primary inspiration of Newman's University Discourses. However, in his Introduction, Father Tristram gives his reason for the omission, and indeed this subject would be more suitably treated in a separate volume of the extent of the present one. The Introduction also deals in a scholarly way with the part played by Oxford in Newman's own cultural development, and with the controversy in the early part of the nineteenth century between the *Edinburgh Review* and a group of Oriel Fellows, which was one of Newman's chief sources of inspiration. Both these topics have been, to some extent, dealt with by former commentators, but in his last section Father Tristram takes up a more unusual and most interesting one, the extent to which Newman's ideal of liberal education was realized in himself, particularly with regard to scientific hypothesis.

This compact and attractively produced volume is one of the series entitled " Life Literature and Thought Library," of which nine volumes have already been published, under the general editorship of Professor Vivian de Sola Pinto, Professor of English in the University of Nottingham. It is altogether appropriate that so sure a guide as Father Tristram has been chosen to conduct the reader along the broad paths of Newman's thought on a subject which, without exaggeration, may be said to be vital to the preservation of our civilization.

FERGAL MCGRATH

THE OECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

MAX JOSEP METZGER. Priest and Martyr. By Lilian Stevenson. London : S.P.C.K. 1952.

FATHER PAUL OF GRAYMOOR. By Father David Gannon, S.J., New York : Macmillan Co.

THE CHRISTIAN DILEMMA. By Dr. W. H. Van de Pol. (translated by G. Van Hall). London : Dent. 1952. 21s.

THERE appeared not long ago a little book which has probably attracted but little attention among any except zealous œcumenists. Yet it is remarkable in more ways than one. For it is the life and writings of a Catholic priest written by a non-Catholic author and published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Moreover this Catholic priest was not only a zealous, but almost an extreme, œcumenist and, in a loose sense at least, a martyr in the Cause.

Born in 1887 at Schopfheim in the Black Forest, Max Josef Metzger was ordained at Freiburg in 1911. He served as a chaplain in the First World War and saw enough of it to make him hate war with an almost fanatical hatred for the rest of his life. Before that war had ended he had begun to organize " The World Peace League of the White Cross," afterwards to become the " Society of Christ the King." For the moment, however, we are not concerned with his work for peace which continued on into the second World War and in the end proved his undoing. We may therefore pass at once to what was Father Metzger's other life-long preoccupation, union among Christians, a preoccupation which led to his other foundation, the " Una Sancta Brotherhood." This latter organisation is still flourishing, and it was to one of its gatherings that Dr. Karl Adam addressed the lectures which he subsequently published under the title (in the English translation) *One and Holy.*

Father Metzger travelled throughout Germany preaching Christian unity, bringing Catholics and Lutherans together for prayer and friendly intercourse. His Brotherhood arranged lectures, discussions, retreats during which Catholics and Protestants made their retreat together, provided apportunities for social services carried out in common, and circulated literature. All this became more and more difficult after Hitler came to power. Father Metzger was arrested on various charges and pretexts in 1934, 1938, and 1939, but was discharged as no illegal activity on his part could be proved. In 1943, however, owing to the treachery of a trusted person, who proved to be a Gestapo spy, he was finally arrested, given a farcical trial by a " People's Court " and condemned to death as a traitor to the Führer and to the Reich. After six months in prison, where he spent his time writing treatises, letters, and poems, he was beheaded on the 17th April, 1944. On hearing his sentence he had said : " I have offered my life to God for the peace of the world and the unity of His Church."

From prison in 1939 he had—greatly daring as he said himself—written a letter to the Pope quoted in full in the little biography, pp. 44 to 55. In it, among many other things, he gives it as his considered opinion that " it is far less differences of dogma than difficulties of a spiritual nature which

prevent a close approach of the other Communions to the Catholic Church." And he proceeds to set forth in detail what these difficulties are. He suggests the possibility that the Holy Father would choose a number—say twelve—of Catholics to discuss difficulties and obstacles with an equal number of leading non-Catholics. It seems not to be known whether this letter ever reached the Holy Father.

In 1939, the year of Father Metzger's third imprisonment, the year of his letter to the Pope, there died at Grottaferrata near Rome a young Trappist Nun who had offered her life to God for the same cause. Sister Maria Gabriella, born in Sardinia in 1914, took her vows in the Trappist Convent in 1937. Earlier that year the Community had first heard of the Unity Octave. When in 1939 the time came for her second Unity Octave Sister Maria Gabriella decided that her way of celebrating the Octave was to be, with the permission of her Mother Abbess, the offering of her life for the cause of unity. She was just twenty-four, had never been ill, and was even remarked for her robust health. But that same day she began to suffer pain in the shoulder. She was soon very ill : an X-ray showed advanced consumption ; and after a few weeks in a Roman hospital where she received every care, she died on April 23rd, 1939. It was the second Sunday after Easter. The Gospel of the Mass is that of the Good Shepherd. " And other sheep I have that are not of this fold ; them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd."

It is touching to know that far away in England the Anglican Benedictine monks of Nashdom and various communities of Anglican Nuns had somehow heard that in the convent at Grottaferrata the community was praying for the Octave intentions and had written to the Mother Abbess to express their gratitude.

The Church Unity Octave, which was the inspiration of Sister Maria Gabriella's heroic offering, must be, in one respect at least, unique. For it originated outside the Church, initiated as it was in 1908 by the Rev. Paul J. F. Watson, then an Anglican, at Graymoor in New York State. Two years later he and his entire community were received into the Church and became known as the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement. The Chair of Unity Octave, as it was then called, was approved by the Holy See and the practice of it has gradually spread across the world. The Octave is observed, chiefly by prayer, from January 18 (Feast of St. Peter's Chair, Cathedra Petri, in Rome) to January 25 (Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul). The Pope himself joins in the prayers. The Society of the Atonement has wonderfully grown and prospered. The Life of the Founder under the title *Father Paul of Graymoor* by Father David Gannon, S.J., was recently published by the Macmillan Co. It is of absorbing interest. It is worth mentioning that the priest chosen to instruct the community before reception was a Mgr. O'Keeffe and that the Franciscan designated to affiliate the community with the Franciscan Order was Father Paschal Robinson, whom we knew later as Nuncio Apostolic here in Ireland.

A recent book *The Christian Dilemma* by a convert from a Dutch Protestant body, Dr. W. H. Van de Pol, D.D., has made a noteworthy contribution to the subject of Œcumenism. He helps the Catholic to enter into the mind of

the Protestant, to understand his devotional life, what he means by " faith alone," how he understands the private interpretation of the Scriptures. And he helps the Protestant to understand the Catholic ethos. Particularly useful is what he says about the psychological obstacles to understanding. He clearly sees the Anglican position as definitely Protestant despite disclaimers. " There exists," he writes, " no liturgy that preserves more carefully than the Anglican whatever is compatible with the Reformation, and has rejected more radically whatever is incompatible with it."

STEPHEN J. BROWN

VARIA

PREHISTORIC EUROPE, THE ECONOMIC BASIS. By J. G. D. Clark, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., London : Methuen. 1952. pp. 349—xix, 16 plates. 60s. net.

PAPERS by Professor Clark on economic aspects of prehistoric life which have been contributed to various journals during recent years have indicated his interest in these matters and have given a foretaste of this book. These papers bore witness to considerable research based on wide and varied reading and the first impression made by the book is a deep realization of the author's industry. The material cannot have been easy to assemble. Much of our knowledge of prehistoric man is based on a study of objects which reveal something of the place of a given culture in a chronological sequence, something of its affinities and of the contributions from other cultures which go to make the amalgam but little that reveals intelligibly the economy of the people who possessed the relics left to us. The reasons for this are obvious. Only in rare and exceptional circumstances are organic materials preserved and even then preservation is incomplete. Furthermore, we frequently have only vague and imperfect understanding of the function of what does remain. This is true not only of objects but also of structures. We may with a good degree of assurance discover the plan of a building but the completion of its superstructure is a matter of speculation—as to design and material. Specialized work by scientists can tell much regarding the sources of raw materials—as is shown by the investigation of stone axes in Britain or by the spectrographic analysis of bronzes in Germany and Sweden. But these lines of research are only in their early stages and their extension presents many difficulties—not the least being the difficulty of finding workers to pursue them. Industrial appointments carry much higher rewards for physicists, chemists and geologists than do academic pursuits and it is often difficult to obtain even sufficient for livelihood for the researcher whose pursuit of science is to give no more practical return than an extended knowledge of the past.

The test of a book on the economic basis of prehistoric life is the extent to which it has overcome all these difficulties. Professor Clark has succeeded by reason of the breadth of his approach and the manner in which he has placed other disciplines under tribute. He has made the most of the archaeological material itself and by comparison of objects, by studies in chronology and distribution and by understanding of the natural environment much

knowledge has resulted. The relevant archaeological literature has been well searched and history, folk culture and cultural anthropology have helped to an interpretation of the available data. The higher cultures of the Mediterranean and the East have been studied because their richer material is more readily intelligible than is the pale copy of it which filtered through to contemporary barbaric Europe.

A feature of the research work on which Professor Clark draws is the considerable contribution of Scandinavian workers. The reason for this is two-fold—the high degree of organization of prehistoric studies in Scandinavia and the unique opportunities available there for the study of early customs and methods. This latter factor is due to the survival of a forest environment and the consequent continuation of similar modes of dealing with it and also to the existence of folk museums which form centres where old crafts can be studied and where their material remains are preserved. In general the Scandinavian countries provide a good example of the fact that early phenomena are best understood by those who know well the region where they occur.

This book provides a good survey of many aspects of prehistoric life—the effects of environment as well as the treatment of special subjects such as farming, mining, houses, transport. It can hardly be described as easy reading and some knowledge of the archaeological background is necessary for an appreciation of the facts presented. But even the non-archaeologist reader will turn profitably to those portions which especially interest him and will be grateful for the splendid bibliography should he wish to read further.

Professor Clark is to be congratulated on his book and his publishers and printers on its production. We wonder though what is the advantage of the break with normal practice in putting the plates at the start of the book ; surely it is as difficult for the reader to turn to the beginning as to the end of a book when he wishes to consult the relevant half-tones in connexion with his reading.

A discussion of the economic basis of prehistoric life is an attempt to see the human beings behind the archaeological material. The extent to which Prof. Clark has succeeded is a measure of the success of archaeology in our day. The extent to which this book will be out-of-date a generation hence will be a measure of the advance made in the meantime.

S. P. O'RIORDAN

THE GOLDEN AGE OF GERMAN MUSIC AND ITS ORIGINS. By Grace O'Brien. With 25 illustrations. London : Jarrolds. 1953. Pp. 222. 16s.

THIS is a companion volume to the same author's *Golden Age of Italian Music* (London : Jarrolds, 1949). Like the earlier volume, the present one combines in a happy blend the chronicle of musical events, concise biographies of the leading musicians, and an intelligent and convincing interpretation of musical history in its double aspect as a development of musical form and idiom, and as an expression and symptom of the general historical and cultural background.

In the book under review, however, Miss O'Brien has not been content with an account of the classical period—those one hundred and fifty years from the time of Handel and Bach (both born in 1685) to the death of Beethoven (1827)—and its immediate " preparation " in the earlier part of the seventeenth century ; she traces its roots back to the very beginnings of western civilization. These " origins " account for more than one-third of the whole. To give so much space to musical developments of which little is known, and still less is alive for us, may at first seem strange ; but the author's decision is justified by the unique role of the German cultural area —a result of geographical and historical conditions—as a crossing point of, and mediator between, the most varied tendencies. There the " linear " music of the ancient mediterranean world, bequeathed to the Middle Ages in the form of Gregorian Chant, combines with the northern " vertical " structure ; the development of polyphony goes side by side with the tradition of folksong and its art-forms, the *Minnelied* and *Meisterlied* ; both styles find a place in the sacred and secular music of the early modern period ; foreign influences, mainly Flemish and Italian, dominate at times, but are again and again conquered and transformed by the native principle of " expressiveness " (according to Goethe, Latin art strives for the beautiful, German art for expression of the characteristic). Of these strains is woven the complex fabric of classical German music, a heritage that even in our time has not yet been spent. The focal position of the " Golden Age of German Music " is understood when we realize, for example, the persistence of the medieval *Lied* form in both vocal and instrumental forms of classic and romantic music, and, on the other hand, the integration of the principles of polyphonic writing (which culminates in the art of Bach and Handel) and harmonized melody (brought to perfection in Italian opera) that was achieved in the developed style of the Viennese classics. It is this wedding of contrasts, most conspicuous in Beethoven, from which have sprung, for better or worse, all the new ventures in the music of more recent times.

A book of this kind cannot in every detail be based on original research. However, the author brings to her task not only an intimate familiarity with the representative music of all periods, but also the fruits of wide reading, which are acknowledged in a competent selective bibliography. Of particular interest are her quotations from the musical journals of Charles Burney and from the memoirs of the Irish tenor, Michael Kelly, concerning musical life in eighteenth century Germany and Austria. I also wish to refer to the suggestion of two Swiss musicologists (quoted on p. 22 for what it may be worth) that the earliest treatise on polyphony, the famous ninth century *Musica Enchiriades,* might be of Irish origin.

Some students of the early chapters—among them the present reviewer, who by profession is a classical scholar and medievalist—would have been grateful for a more detailed presentation and discussion of the evidence. These " origins " present many problems that are still unsolved. Here are some questions which I asked in the course of my reading. Was the effect of the *barditus* (p. 12) so terrifying to the Romans because the German warriors sang, or rather shouted, into their shields at different pitch levels, thus producing some sort of chords (or discords) ? Are there grounds for

assuming that the chant of the early medieval liturgies (Ambrosian, Gallican, Celtic, Mozarabic) differed in *character*? What was the exact relation between early theoretical works on music (which continue the tradition of Greco-Roman musical theory) and the musical practice of their day? Did Hroswitha of Gandersheim write her plays with a view to performance (p. 29), and not merely for reading?

As a native of Austria, I would have liked to find some reference to the foundation of the Vienna Boys' Choir in 1498—a significant date in Flemish-Austrian musical relations—and to the first performance of an Italian opera north of the Alps, at Salzburg in 1618—only nine years before the first German opera, Schutz's *Dafne*.

LUDWIG BIELER

EDITH STEIN. By Sister Teresia de Spiritu Sancto, O.D.C. Translated by Cecily Hastings and Donald Nicholl. London: Sheed and Ward. 1952. Pp. viii, 238. 15s.

EDITH STEIN, the subect of this biography, was a remarkable person. Born in Breslau of Jewish parentage, she studied philosophy at German universities, among them Breslau and Göttingen, and became herself recognized as a philosopher. The earlier half of this book is largely from her own account of her studies and intellectual development. The pages on Göttingen particularly are charming, for they provide a bright picture of German student life before the First World War and of a warm and intelligent personality.

During these study years Edith Stein came under the influence of Edmund Husserl, the well-known philosopher of Phenomenology, then teaching in Göttingen but afterwards to be translated to a chair in the university of Freiburg im Breisgau. It was Husserl's *Logische Untersuchungen* that converted Edith Stein to Phenomenology, took her to Göttingen to study under the "Master," and eventually to Freiburg, where she was private assistant to Husserl. To anyone who knows something of her background, her account of student life and her descriptions of professors like Max Scheler are most interesting.

If Husserl's *Logische Untersuchingen* converted her to Phenomenology, it was the Life of St. Teresa of Avila that helped to convert her to Catholicism. While still in Freiburg, she was received into the Church in 1922. Her interests were now aroused in Catholic thought, and she produced some admirable German versions of St. Thomas. Towards the close of 1933 she entered religious life as a Carmelite. "From Husserl to Carmel," Peter Wust wrote of her in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*. The *Fräulein Doktor* became Sister Teresia Benedicta.

The second portion of this book deals with her life in religion. Naturally, of events there is very little: of spirit and aspiration very much. This highly gifted, intelligent woman had embraced the religious state with a deep awareness and a warm love. Grace made her outstanding in gifts of heart as nature had endowed her with capacities of mind.

In 1938, her superiors transferred her to a Dutch Carmel because of Nazi persecution of the Jews. But this did not save her. In 1942 she was taken by the Nazis out of her Carmel, entrained for a concentration camp in Germany, and, most probably, murdered in a gas chamber in the notorious camp of Auschwitz.

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